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ABSTRACT

This study explores broad alternative policies on urban school facilities and education rather than attempting to design the "best" policy. The study also provides a broad perspective within which to place school construction decisions by analyzing goals, stakeholders' positions, and implementation actions. The main portion of the study highlights how the possible choice between two "construction" alternatives (educational parks and mini-schools) is influenced by other crucial urban education policy issues, and the effects of the latter upon the alternatives. In the context of the current situation where major city school systems are in precarious relationship with their environment (parents, civil rights groups, black militants, teachers' unions, and students), questions of financing, construction, and location of new schools are considered to be interwoven with educational issues (transactional patterns, evidence on probable effects of specific programs, school integration as affecting transactional patterns, and community control), and are analyzed as such in the study. The study concludes that neither of the two facility innovations examined--educational parks and mini-schools--offer much promise to education, and that, despite the skepticism developed in the study relating to community control, the latter would be the choice among the potential driving forces for change to combine with new construction. (RJ)

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# ON IMPROVING URBAN SCHOOL FACILITIES AND EDUCATION

*by*

THOMAS C. THOMAS

*Supported by:*

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A Policy Research Report is an official document of the Educational Policy Research Center. It presents results of work directed toward specific research objectives. The report is a comprehensive treatment of the objectives, scope, methodology, data, analyses, and conclusions, and presents the background, practical significance, and technical information required for a complete and full understanding of the research activity. The report is designed to be directly useful to educational policy makers.

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## RESEARCH NOTE

A Research Note is a working paper that presents the results of study related to a single phase or factor of a research problem. It also may present preliminary exploration of an educational policy issue or an interim report which may later appear as a larger study. The purpose of the Research Note is to instigate discussion and criticism. It presents the concepts, findings, and/or conclusions of the author. It may be altered, expanded, or withdrawn at any time.

## CONTENTS

I INTRODUCTION . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1

Approach . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1
Goals and Control . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 3

II POLITICAL FORCES . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 5

White Liberals . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 6
Black Militants . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 8
Teachers . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 11
Stakeholders' and Construction Alternatives . . . . . . . . . 12
  Reactions to the Education Parks . . . . . . . . . . . . 13
    White Liberal . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 13
    Black Pro Integration . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 13
    Black Pro Local Control . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 14
    Teachers . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 14
  Reactions to the Mini-Schools . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 15
    White Liberal . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 15
    Black Pro Integration . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 16
    Black Pro Local Control . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 17
    Teachers . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 18
  Reactions to the Neighborhood Schools . . . . . . . . . . 18
    White Liberal . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 19
    Black Pro Integration . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 19
    Black Pro Local Control . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 19
    Teachers . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 20
Commentary . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 21

III EDUCATIONAL ISSUES . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 23

Framework for Analysis . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 24
Reduced Class Size . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 28
Professional Programs . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 32
  Specific Programs . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 34
  The "Numbers" Approach - Better School Facilities . . . . . 37
  More Staffing . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 39
    Special Services . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 40
    Teacher Aides . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 42

## CONTENTS

III Continued

New "Innovative" Instructional Approaches . . . . . . . . . . 43
  Individualized Learning--Affective Learning . . . . . . . . 45
  Expansions of the School's Area of Concern . . . . . . . . 46
  New "Innovative" Programs in the School . . . . . . . . . . 48
    Follow Through Program . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 49
    Team Teaching . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 50
    Work-Study Programs . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 50
    Teacher Education . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 51
Improved Equipment . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 54
  Educational Television . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 54
  Computer Aided Instruction . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 56
Integration . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 59
  Determinant of Amount of Change in Transactional Patterns . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 61
  Nature of Changes in Transactional Patterns . . . . . . . . 65
  Coleman Report Data . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 67
  Conclusions . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 71
Community Control-Community Participation . . . . . . . . . . 75
  Community Control . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 79
  Parent and Community Involvement . . . . . . . . . . . . 85

IV INNOVATIVE CONSTRUCTION ALTERNATIVES . . . . . . . . . . . . 91

Education Parks . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 92
  An Image . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 92
  Summary of Advantages Claimed . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 97
  Implementation of Education Parks . . . . . . . . . . . . 98
    Goals . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 99
    Control . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 100
    Problems . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 101
  Education Parks in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York City . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 107
  Education Parks in Smaller Cities . . . . . . . . . . . . 112
Mini-Schools . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 115
  An Image . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 115
  Implementation of Mini-Schools . . . . . . . . . . . . . 121
Conclusions . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 125

# ILLUSTRATIONS

1 Transactional Model of Education . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 25

2 Approaches to Quality Education . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 36

# I INTRODUCTION

## Approach

In many areas of our cities, the original school construction was completed late in the 19th or early in the 20th century. Much of this construction, though outmoded and dilapidated, is still in use. The interiors of these schools are not flexible, and cannot be easily adapted to some of the new educational techniques. Moreover, some buildings are physically hazardous with rot, loose bricks, and inadequate fire protection. The rapid influx of poor minority groups has compounded this problem, so that in addition to the antiquated facilities there is considerable overcrowding resulting in high student-teacher ratios, and double or triple sessions in many city school facilities. The condition of urban schools is of great concern to state and federal educational staffs and to parents. It affects the quality of urban education in all areas of student growth--intellectual, emotional, and social. Faced with these problems and projections of further population growth in urban schools, educational stakeholders generally agree that change is needed, but are not agreed upon just what the change should be.

Since most recent innovations in urban education have failed to affect minority education significantly, this study explores broad alternative policies on urban school facilities and education rather than trying to design the "best" policy. In addition, this study provides a broad perspective within which to place school construction decisions by analyzing goals, stakeholders' positions, and implementation actions.

This study is not an in-depth technical analysis of the financial needs of the school system; the need for a specific amount of construction;

particular construction techniques; classroom arrangements; or flexibility of use. Such technical studies concentrate on a particular aspect of the situation. This is in contrast to the policy level needs for overall goal statements and comparisons between broad alternatives.

At the other end of the scale are those "general systems" studies that would attempt to compare the advantage of spending an additional dollar of a city's limited financial resources (from its own tax base or outside sources) fixing a firetrap school building versus fixing a firetrap slum house; or raising welfare payments versus improving public health services. While breadth of vision is needed in a policy analysis, the current state of the art in the systems approach is not adequate to the "general systems" task.

This report is aimed between the poles of an in-depth technical study and a general systems approach; it concentrates on providing a broad perspective, limited nevertheless to "educational" matters.

Two "construction" alternatives act as the initial point of departure for the analysis and as the setting for its conclusion: (1) education parks, and (2) mini-schools. The main portion of the study highlights how the possible choice is influenced by other crucial urban education policy issues and their effects upon the alternatives. The basic outlook from which the study is built is the following. Major city school systems are in a precarious relationship with their environment (parent, civil rights groups, black militants, teachers' unions, and students). In this fluid situation, questions on the financing, construction, and location of new schools are interwoven with the issues of integration, quality education, and control of the schools. In the determination of construction plans, an explicit or implicit response is made to all these issues. That is, policy decisions regarding urban school construction affect numerous educational issues and cannot be analyzed independent of them. For example, the location and size of the school will affect its attendance patterns and the potential for integration. Moreover, the schedule of building new schools and their facilities is not immune to pressure from different parent and taxpayer groups.

Viewed from the perspective of cities' past inability to change the "outcomes" of minority education and the current divergence in approaches and short range goals, urban construction alternatives and their interrelated educational innovations need to be looked at in terms of whether they will have noticeable effects, and if so, where the effects will occur, rather than in terms of good and bad effects.

## Goals and Control

Each educational program can be analyzed for its immediate educational outcomes. However, if one is interested in the broad goals, i.e., basic and significant long run improvements in education, the forces that repeatedly generate and maintain specific programs must be looked at first. They determine the direction of long run movements in the educational system. It is obvious that inadequate education is being acquired by minority groups in our major urban centers. This is also true of sizable segments in the majority groups. Educational innovations and improvements are required. However, the search for a single project or approach, which, panacea-like, will solve all the interrelated problems of urban education is a bit absurd in the phenomenological sense. Much more realistic is the goal to create a stream of small but significant programs and innovations, which will accumulate to provide major improvements. Different construction plans fall in this category. From this viewpoint, the question of who controls the urban education system, i.e., what are the forces responsible for the generation of these educational innovations, becomes crucial.

For long range educational change, the question of control of the educational system will determine the innovations and adaptive processes that the educational system chooses to adopt--and consequently the goals that can be achieved.

There are many stakeholders in urban education and the policy maker must reckon with them all eventually. However, the large majority of the stakeholders act as negative or constraining forces. Thus, while they can and do inhibit, disrupt, or deflect the path of innovation, they are not a prime force for initiating innovations.

Currently, three groups of stakeholders have or seek positive control of urban education systems. They are: (1) the white liberals, supported at times, by moderate minorities, (2) the black militants, and (3) the teachers. Considerable diversity exists within each of these groups, but the majority in each group do hold certain goals and assumptions in common. The analysis first turns to an overview of these three group stakeholders and their feelings on construction alternatives.

## II POLITICAL FORCES

The specific decisions made in 1969 on urban school construction will first and foremost be determined by political power. The growth in political activity by minority groups in urban areas has increasingly politicized the public school. This does not result from a change in the function of the school per se; schools have always been political. They are the principal public institutions charged with the task of enculturation and socialization of the young. Together with employers, schools have the task of selecting persons to fill the economic positions in the society. However, in the past when there was greater agreement on goals among those with political power than there is currently, most school policy decisions appeared to be technical questions that professionals could appropriately decide.

This political consensus has been effectively broken by minority groups (and others). These groups maintain that the old political "set-up" did not result in public schools that adequately fulfilled their needs. Urban school construction decisions reflect the relative power of educational stakeholders and the relationship of school construction alternatives to their goals. Attempts to make policy decisions on technical grounds when objectives are no longer agreed on are, at best, irrelevant. However, technical considerations do affect policy decisions. Stakeholders take positions based on the technical information that was available to them in the past. New information can interact with the needs and values of these stakeholders to modify their positions in the future.

The discussion of political forces will be limited to the three groups of stakeholders: (1) the white liberals, (2) the black militants, and (3) the teachers, their importance and influence not necessarily in this order. While these three groups tend to assume the responsibility in each locality for proposing innovative policies to meet problems in urban education, many other stakeholders, e.g., taxpayer groups, will have an impact upon policy acceptance and may have considerably more influence in determining acceptance in a specific city than any of these three groups.

## White Liberals

In the mid-1960s, the control of most urban school systems was in the hands of white liberals. This group was often joined by moderate blacks, forming a coalition that sought to improve urban education through the "urging" of integration and "quality" education. The effects of these approaches, however, have not met expectations of the minority groups for either implementation or impact. Consequently, while white liberal groups are generally still in power, appreciable moderate black support has been lost.

The lack of effectiveness to date in white liberal programs is not a repudiation of either integration or "quality" education as a concept. It is mainly a commentary on the inability of white liberal boards of education and superintendents to effectively institute major programs of integration or innovative "quality" education.*

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* Most schools have instituted attempts at "quality" education through compensatory programs. These programs may be new to a given school but most are not innovative educationally. They have often been tried before and reported in the literature as having little or no effect, e.g., programs to reduce class size, or add counselors.

This group and its supporters in the state and federal governments have generated money for new innovative "quality education" programs, such as the ESEA (Elementary and Secondary Education Act), and plans for integration. However, the mediocrity of most ESEA Title I programs and the increasing de facto segregation in our cities raise the doubt about the ability of this group to deliver the programs on target. For example, the New York City Board of Education and its Superintendent control annual expenditures of approximately $1.3 billion, and 50-60,000 college graduates trained in education. However, the Board of Education and the Superintendent often appear to have minimal control of the educational system. In 1958 the Board of Education tried to institute a plan for racial integration through busing and open enrollment. It was effectively killed by the school bureaucracy.[*]

In 1965 New York City planned for an MES (More Effective School) compensatory education program that balanced administrative changes in staffing and class size with innovative educational changes in teaching practices. This program had the strong backing of the teachers' union as well as the Board of Education. While the administrative changes generally were instituted, the changes in teaching practices were mostly "lost in the shuffle." Overall, this program was rated as ineffective.[†]

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[*] Whether the Board of Education and the Superintendent, if sufficiently motivated, could have mustered the force to make the integration plan work is not in question. Even if the possibility existed, the system made it much less likely to occur. See David Rogers, "Obstacles to School Desegregation in New York City: A Benchmark Case," in Educating an Urban Population, by Marilyn Gittell.

[†] David J. Fox, Evaluation of New York City Title I educational Projects 1966-67; Expansion of the More Effective School Program, The Center for Urban Education, New York City, September 1967.

The specifics of these experiences are unique to New York, but not the recurrent experience of ineffectiveness. Therefore, a central question in the analysis of the innovative programs under white liberal control (and the moderate black support) is:

- Can white liberals with moderate black support effectively generate change and innovation in the areas of integration and "quality" education?

Our conclusion is that at best, the effectiveness of these groups to generate change and innovate in the areas of integration and "quality" education is in doubt.*

## Black Militants

Insofar as the black militants are concerned, the consensus is that the white liberals and black moderates cannot be effective in "changing things" because "institutional racism" in the public schools is too strong and resistant to change. This would be true even in the absence of individual racism.†

The black militants maintain that institutional racism is found in major urban school systems, if for no other reason than because their extensive bureaucracies which have been developed over the past 30-40 years, reflect the forces of the past, and do not represent the concerns of present urban minorities. Therefore, conflict between some of the needs and goals of minority groups and the school establishment's

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[*] Though the question must be posed in the broad terms of change, it can be answered only in terms of more specific program criteria. This specificity is provided in the later chapters.

[†] The distinction between individual and institutional racism is developed by Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton in their book, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America.

way of operating inevitably occur. The existence of major individual racism in school administrators has obviously served to increase the conflict.

The rate of adaptation to minority needs and goals in these circumstances can be expected to be very slow even under considerable pressure from minorities. Those administrators who have achieved their present position under the system are insulated from the public, and have scant interest in changing the "rules of the game" and jeopardizing their status. Furthermore, school bureaucracies are internally ponderous by nature. Externally, the actions of the local school district are restricted by state laws and regulations. These could be changed, but the groups responsible for their enactment generally retain much of their power and can block changes adverse to their interests.

For these reasons, the black militants do not believe that institutionally racist organizations can be changed in an evolutionary manner--at least not within a reasonable time frame. They believe that the system must be destroyed or at least that no respect should be shown for the laws, administrative practices, and contract provisions which have perpetuated the inability of the school system to meet the needs of the black minority group. Thus, the black militants are in conflict with white liberals and black moderates who respect the laws and, more importantly, the due process in changing laws.

At the level of teaching practices, what the black militants advocate seldom suggests anything that is educationally outrageous or could not be supported by at least a sizable minority of those teaching in the teacher colleges. Probably the major initial impact of these militants at the classroom level would be the separation of teachers, both white and Negro, into those who are for "us" and those who are against "us."* Changes in curricula would also occur especially in terms of increasing the content on minority culture, history, and contributions to society, i.e., "relevant" curriculum. However, overall changes from present curricula probably would be on the same order of magnitude as the changes found in parochial schools.†

There is little doubt that, if they have the power, the black militants can and will institute these changes. The question is: will they be able to obtain the power to "change laws, administrative practices, and provision of labor contracts," and how effectively will they use it.

In sum, the militants' attention is directed toward changing many of the goals, values, and attitudes of school boards, administrators, and teachers. Parts of their program ring true for a large number of people and are supported even by those opposed to the total program and approach of the militants. Since most of the alternatives presented by other groups are "weak" at present, militants are exerting influence far beyond their small numbers, and will continue to do so unless other strong alternatives are presented. Consequently, our assessment is that they may be able to institute their programs if they:

1. Obtain control of decentralized school districts which are 90 percent minority districts.

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[*] The problem in Oceanhill-Brownsville in New York City focused on the removal of teachers not "for" the black administration. The refusal of the administration to engage in the formalities by which the transfers could be made to appear not to violate tenure provisions of contracts served to increase the conflict.

[†] Some initial overreaction in black militant schools might occur--e.g., limit reading of stories and books to black authors only. However, as confidence in their own "viability" in an open society increases, this type of "separatedness" would naturally decrease, as it has in parochial schools.

2. Agree to maintain appearances of adhering to laws and contractual provisions.

3. Do not specifically teach "hate whitey," but rather use minority culture and history as a focal point.

## Teachers

Control of an urban school system--in terms of legal responsibility--rests with the "community" and its elected or appointed representatives at the state and local level. This control is lay control, rather than professional control. However, as school districts are becoming larger and educational matters more complex, the professionals are gaining more control of urban school systems.

Up to quite recently, the major increase in professional control has not corresponded to a major increase in teacher control. It was the administrators of the district staffs who wielded the increased power. Most administrators have themselves been teachers, and teachers and administrators share many goals and values. However, they also have many conflicting needs and points of view.

One need not debate the degree to which the public school system has been authoritarian and paternalistic--both past and present--to agree that in the 1960s, there have grown strong forces reacting to this situation and pushing for greater teacher participation in decision making. Currently, teachers are gaining a greater voice on policy matters in urban school systems. However, their attempts to improve working conditions and educational practices within the current establishment (of which they are a part) are coming into opposition with minorities who see the first requirement as a change in the establishment itself. Nevertheless, more and more teacher groups are putting forth "professional" solutions to the urban school crisis, including construction alternatives and, most importantly, are showing increased willingness to exert pressure on behalf of their recommendations. The general nature of these recommendations is to improve the teacher's working conditions so that he is better able to teach (and presumably the students to learn). Typical recommendations are reduced class size, reduction of nonteaching duties (clerical or monitoring), and greater disciplinary power. For the majority of teachers in urban minority schools, neither the rhetoric of the black militant nor that of the white liberal closely matches the realities of the classroom as they believe them to be. Thus, teachers will be increasingly faced with a conflict between their role as technical experts and that of a political pressure group--a conflict which, if left unresolved, could limit their effectiveness in either role.

## Stakeholders' and Construction Alternatives

Using "the political decisions" framework, this chapter presents alternative views of urban school construction. This is done from the perspective of each of the previously discussed groups, giving first a consensus of its opinion, and then a quote of one of its spokesmen. To provide more specificity to the reactions, the terms "black moderate" and "black militant" have been changed to "black pro integration" and "black pro local control." It is not claimed that moderate/pro integration and militant/pro local control are synonymous terms. However, they are overlapping.

As noted in the previous chapter, the two innovative alternatives are (1) education parks, and (2) mini-schools. In addition, a view of the usual scale of school, commonly called the neighborhood school, will be given. The nature of the construction innovations are presented in a summary fashion at this point. Much fuller discussion of their specific characteristics is given in Chapter IV, Innovative Construction Alternatives.*

### Reactions to Education Parks

The education park concept provides an increase in the scale of the school to 5,000-20,000 students per site. The enlarged attendance area enhances the ability of the school to create an integrated student body. Economies of scale provide funds for "quality" education through specialized facilities and courses.

White Liberal. This plan provides the greatest opportunity to achieve integrated schooling in urban areas. Furthermore, integration is coupled with higher quality education that will benefit both black and white. (Consensus.)

"The only serious proposal to date which offers promise of effecting a real solution to the de facto segregation problem, and meeting the other criteria I have discussed here (educational improvement, involvement of total community, cooperation between educators and community), is the 'educational park' concept."
Neil Sullivan, "Desegregation Techniques, Education Parks," U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, October 1967, pp. 62-78.

Black Pro Integration. The overall plan for integration is good but we must be involved in site selection and the determination of the form of quality education provided, if our needs are to be met. (Consensus.)

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* The quotes used are not always specifically on the issue of the scale of the school. The author may be speaking primarily on a related issue that reflects on the scale issue.

"The ultimate, Mr. Gifford says, would be an educational park--primary, intermediate, junior, and senior high schools combined on a single campus. 'Both whites and blacks would be bused in to the park. They'd start off on an equal footing, at a common meeting place. Integration would be a by-product,' he says."
Bernard R. Gifford, education committee chairman of FIGHT, a black community organization in Rochester, New York, quoted in "Rochester Integration: 'Miles To Go,'"
The Christian Science Monitor, June 25, 1968, p. 13.

Black Pro Local Control. Hell no, it's just another way to maintain white control. Nothing that counts will really be different because it's not "relevant." (Consensus.)

"If the American society is basically a racist society, it follows that one of the major institutions for transmitting and perpetuating that racism has been the schools. It further follows that policies and programs aimed at strengthening those institutions will lead essentially to a perpetuation of racism... The new concern is an effort to devise an educational system which is functional, not dysfunctional to the needs of black people."
Charles V. Hamilton, "Education in the Black Community: An Examination of the Realities," in Freedomways, A Quarterly Review of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Fall, 1968), pp. 319-324.

Teachers. They could be good, but we need to be involved in the design of the quality education components. (Consensus.)

"Many teachers express skepticism toward the idea of others devising innovations for them; they seem to see such 'fads' [education parks] as, among other things, maneuvers by self-interested administrators seeking attention ... Teachers might well oppose plans for educational parks which stressed, as a precondition of participation, a readiness to accept a large number of (personally) untested practices. Yet many teachers would welcome the opportunity to observe and think about novel and divergent approaches to classroom activities. Those considering the design of parks, therefore, would be well advised to create maximum opportunities for teacher innovation without prescribing their specific nature." Dan C. Lortie (Midwest Administration Center, Department of Education, University of Chicago), "Towards Educational Equality: the Teacher and the Educational Parks," Education Parks, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, October 1967, pp. 38-61.

## Reaction to Mini-Schools

The mini-school or store front schools concept provides educational facilities "in the community." These schools would be built around a teacher, several aides from the neighborhood, non-graded classes, and a classroom in a store front, settlement house, or church basement rather than a formal school building. It is a child centered, community centered education, and requires extensive changes in current teaching practices.

White Liberal. No, they would perpetuate segregated education. They are probably impractical on a large scale anyway. (Consensus.)

"'Local control' means a very different thing in Mississippi than it does in New York and let us for God's sake summon the wit to see this before we enshrine the political principles of George C. Wallace in the temple of liberal rationalism." Dr. Moynihan said he also thought that the long-term effect of decentralization would be to accent class divisions among Negroes and Puerto Ricans. "Under local control, the

managerial positions will be taken by middle-class Negroes and Puerto Ricans, leaving the same class divisions we have now," he said.
Daniel P. Moynihan, Atlantic Monthly, August 1968.

However, particularly in areas of local control, the consensus is far from uniform.

For example: "There is no statistical evidence on what the East Harlem Block Schools have accomplished. Yet clearly they have tended to succeed where public schools have often failed."
Peter Schrag, "Learning in a Storefront," Saturday Review, June 15, 1968, p. 71.

"So long as militant blacks believe they are the victims of a conspiracy to keep their children stupid--and therefore subservient--the political problem will remain insoluble. But if we encourage and assist black parents with such suspicions to set up their own schools, we may be able to avert disaster."
Christopher Jencks, "Private Schools for Black Children," New York Times Magazine, Nov. 3, 1968.

Black Pro Integration. They are less desirable than integrated schooling, if we can get it. Probably they would not concentrate enough on the 3R's, and could easily become second class education. (Consensus.)

"A system that confirms whites and Negroes in the control of ethnic schools will probably harden racial conflict. But if we're doomed to have black schools--and whites are determined that we are--then blacks ought to control them."
Dr. Troy Duster, a Negro sociologist at the Center for the Study of Urban Education, which is part of the University of California at Berkeley, quoted by John Leo, "Piecemeal Decentralization is Feared," New York Times, Sep. 24, 1968.

Black Pro Local Control. Who controls these schools? If we had control of the school, we probably would not need this radical change in school size and program. When we are running schools like this at our own expense it is because whitey controls the public school building. (Consensus.)

"We at MARC* in recent months have increasingly realized the possibility that all attempts to improve the quality of education is contemporary racially segregated public schools, and all attempts to desegregate these schools will have minimal positive results. The rigidity of present patterns of public school organization and the concomitant stagnation in quality of education and academic performance of children may not be amenable to any attempts at change, working through and within the present system ... It is increasingly clear that this power to resist change stems, in large part, from the position of monopoly over education by the present public education system. A monopoly need not concern itself with change ... Alternatives--realistic, aggressive, viable competitors--to the present public school system must be found. The proposed Children's Community Workshop school is, in my opinion, this type of viable alternative to the existing public schools. The plan for the school sets forth several of the elements which I believe to be necessary for improvement of the quality of education in urban schools, not the least important of which is a high degree of parent and community participation in the educational process."
Kenneth B. Clark, letter on Children's Community Workshop School, July 1, 1968.

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* Metropolitan Applied Research Center.

Teachers. Mini-schools are not educationally sound. They make it look like all one has to do in education is be in touch with the community. Parent participation would surely become parent intervention and cause problems in educational quality and obtaining high caliber professional teachers. (Consensus.)

"If we move toward private schools for the poor, we will have to have strong governmental agencies to regulate them. There has to be some way of evaluating and regulating a private system of education. Otherwise, the poor will be cheated in the educational field, as they are in the local commercial enterprises ... Also, since children learn more from each other than from their teachers, we must continue to strive for school integration and refuse to accept separatist answers labeled 'community control' or 'private schools for the poor' ....
Albert Shanker, "What's Wrong with Compensatory Education?", Saturday Review, Jan. 11, 1969, pp. 56-61.

"I regard decentralization as a kind of opium. It gives people the trappings of power and local control without really giving them the ability to do anything ... I think decentralization has no educational value at all. I do not believe that there is any evidence to show that parental participation in the politics of education has any effect on the educational achievement."
"Interview with Albert Shanker," The Urban Review, November 1968, pp. 18-27.

## Reactions to the Neighborhood Schools

These schools would be of the same scale as present schools, but architecturally they would incorporate advances such as expandable classrooms, learning corrals, and so on. The question of control and changes in educational programs is open. (Consensus.)

White Liberal. No, it would perpetuate de facto segregation. Educational quality even in new buildings is not possible under such conditions (However, it may be the best we can do under the circumstances.) (Consensus.)

Note: No direct quotes are available from this group. However, the building plans for most large cities are based primarily on a continuation of a neighborhood schools concept, with perhaps some limited "experimental" busing.

Black Pro Integration. This is just more of the same. We have had new buildings in the past and it hasn't made any difference. What's new here? (Consensus.)

"Conflict arose in East Central Brooklyn when the Board of Education proposed to construct seven schools on scattered sites to alleviate severe overcrowding. The seven schools included four elementary schools for Brownsville, and three intermediate schools - one each in Canarsie, Midwood Flatlands, and East New York. Parents in Brownsville felt the six schools would do nothing to alleviate the de-facto segregation in Brownsville schools and, in fact, would result in further school segregation; the new schools could be characterized as neighborhood schools drawing mainly from immediately adjacent areas.

"The parents sought and obtained an injuction from the New York State Commissioner of Education to prevent the Board of Education from proceeding with the construction of the seven scattered-site schools." A Report of the Education Park, Corde Corporation, Wilton, Connecticut.

Black Pro Local Control. Sure, you can give us new buildings, it's about time. And you had better let us run them too. (Consensus.)

"If a school is to have any meaning, it must take its character from the nature of the people living in the community and from the children utilizing the school--rather than rigidly defining itself as an institution that accepts only those people who fit into a preconceived definition."
Kenneth W. Haskins, "The Case for Local Control," Saturday Review, Jan. 11, 1969, pp. 52-54.

Teachers. We need new buildings, and if you will give us additional money to design a good education program, we can go a long way toward true "quality" education. (Consensus.)

"All of the "new solutions" in education are popular largely because of the failure of the traditional compensatory education. But compensatory education can be different. It could mean a commitment to spend what has to be spent in order to guarantee the desired educational achievement. It could and should mean programs like our More Effective Schools, in which children of the poor begin to get the kind of educational facilities which their more affluent suburban neighbors get.

"Of course, money alone is not the answer. New ideas and new situations are needed, too, but before we accept the slogan that "money is not the answer" we ought to try the money approach just once ... What we need is a program which starts children very early in very small classes with a longer day and a longer year, and a testing program that will enable us to tell within a week or two if a child has fallen behind - not after two or three years when it is frequently too late. We must recognize that the colleges can educate people to a certain general educational level, but they aren't training people to cope with problems as teachers. We need the equivalent of an internship program that might involve several years of on-the-job training."
Albert Shanker, "What's Wrong with Compensatory Education?", Saturday Review, Jan. 11, 1969.

## Commentary

The foregoing has given the situation at the end of the 1960s. This analysis is as specific as the issues presumably will be when couched in political rhetoric. However, a more complete picture of the urban school construction program is needed for any kind of national evaluation. The next chapter deals in detail with the educational issues, including transactional patterns; the evidence on the probable effects of specific programs; integration, as it affects transactional patterns; and community control, a latent power to be reckoned with.

## III EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

As education parks and mini-schools differ structurally, so does the style of their advocators. An education park is a massive undertaking which, if built, will influence the life of its portion of the urban school district for decades. Its attendance district will cover a number of the communities that make up the texture of an urban area. Hence to be just and impartial to each community, it must be "apart" from each community. It must be carefully planned and attention must be given to many details and potential problems. In its description, philosophical aspects must be subordinated to practical aspects and lists of advantages. In short, the education park is an attempt to provide integration through an enlarged attendance area and "quality" education by school program specialization.

The mini-school, on the other hand, takes on the characteristics of each community. Its building may not even be its own, but could be a community building made into a school by its use rather than its form. Philosophy and human relationships are of prime importance; practical problems are to be solved in the context of the specific environment as they arise.

With this difference in orientation, direct comparisons between the two proposals would do little more than show the biases of the person making the comparison. Therefore, as an alternative to direct comparison, an analysis is made of the educational effects upon the student of possible changes from present educational practices. Subsequently, the construction alternatives are rated on the basis of the degree to which they foster or inhibit certain innovative educational practices.

Three general categories of innovative programs will be discussed: professional programs, integration, and community control--community participation.

## Framework for Analysis

Before new practices can be analyzed, a frame of reference must be developed. For changes that have been extensively evaluated (such as variations in class size), it is often possible to describe the framework in terms of inputs (e.g., a change in class size), and outputs (e.g., measured changes in cognitive or affective scales). However, with little attention paid to the detailed description of how inputs are transformed into outputs, many changes have not been extensively evaluated, or when they have been evaluated, it has been under special circumstances (e.g., in a laboratory school) which are not generalizeable to urban school systems. Therefore, it is highly desirable to have a framework that is process oriented and can provide predictions of the effects of educational changes. For this purpose, a transactional model of the educational process has been developed. Even in the highly simplified form shown in Figure 1, it has provided a useful frame of reference.

Our theoretical position is that the types and amounts of cognitive and affective learning the student achieves is determined by the pattern of transaction in which he learns.* Thus, improvement (i.e., change) in the cognitive and affective characteristics of students will not occur without changes in the pattern of transactions.

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* Clearly, the students "innate" capabilities are also a factor. However, the numerous examples of students acting in a way inconsistent with their measured I.Q. because of "mistaken" expectations on the part of adults leads one to downgrade the role of "innate" capabilities. See Pygmalion in the Classroom by Rosenthal and Jacobsen.

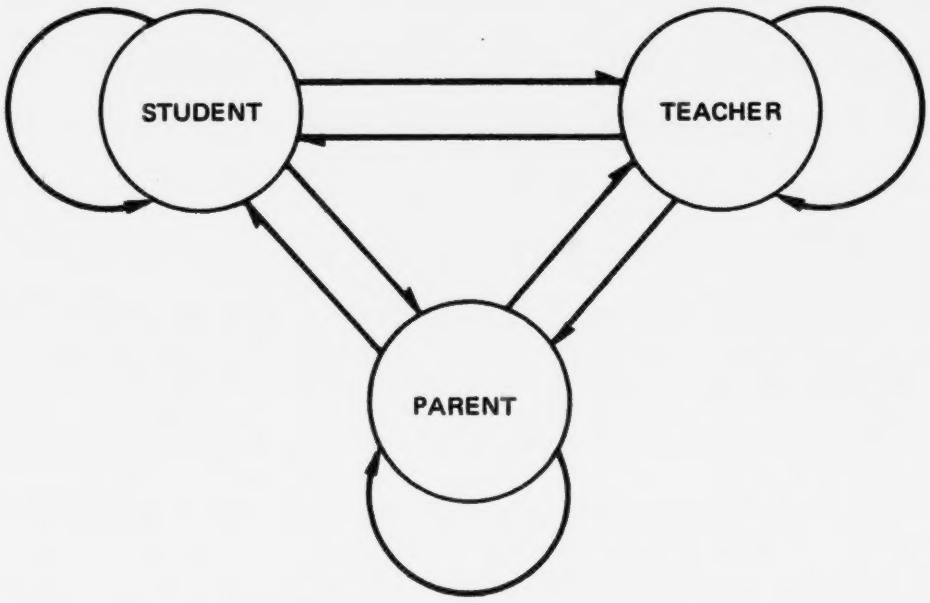

FIGURE 1 TRANSACTIONAL MODEL OF EDUCATION

Figure 1 shows transactions occurring between parents and teachers, students and teachers, and students and parents within the general environment. Parents, teachers, and students also have transactions with their peers, which accounts for the circular arrow on each group. A transaction is a two-way concept: Both parties "communicate." This communication may be either verbal or nonverbal.

For example, if a teacher asks a student a question in a sarcastic tone of voice, and the student ignores the teacher by turning and gazing out the window, a transaction has occurred. The communication is verbal on the part of the teacher but the tone communicates more than the words. In essence, the teacher is saying "Hey dummy, try to answer this question and make a fool of yourself" The student's communication is entirely nonverbal. In essence, he is saying, "Forget it, teacher (or words to that effect)." The nominal transaction--a teacher checking to see how well a student understands the material to guide the presentation and the student responding appropriately--is absent.

This example is chosen to illustrate the point that even in a "good" classroom, i.e., one in which a teacher asks a question in a friendly tone of voice and the student tries his best to answer correctly and courteously, the communication occurs on several levels. The first level is that of a question asked and answer given. The second level is one of the role affirmation. In the "good" classroom, the teacher's friendly voice says to the child, "You are a good student and I, an adult, like you." The child's method of response says to the teacher, "I respect your position as a teacher and will do my best to please you."

The learning situation is made up of thousands of such transactions. Each one has its unique characteristics, but they do not exist in isolation. Each transaction has a history of prior transactions between the same or similar persons, and this history creates the set of expectations upon which each party will act in a specific transaction. Stable patterns of transactions that depend upon the cast of characters involved and their history of previous transactions can be observed in learning environments.*

This simplified framework could be extended in several directions. Other adults--policemen, grocers, employers, social workers and so-on--have important transactions with the child, particularly as he reaches high school age. Some of these transactions need to be considered individually in specific analyses, such as transactions with employers in career planning, but in general, they tend to be lumped together. In total, the community has a major effect upon the way students participate in school.

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* The literature on educational measurement would label the transactional framework as a framework for process measurements, as distinct from output measurements (a distinction with which we would not agree.) A number of different process frameworks are in the literature such as the Flander's classroom interaction framework and its revision and the Indicators of Quality from the Institute of Administrative Research at Teachers College, Columbia University. However, all of these process frameworks and their specific measurement instruments--with which we are familiar--are limited to the classroom. The other transactions that affect the educational participation of the child and maintain the current form of the transactions are given scant attentions in the literature.

The most important addition that needs to be made to Figure 1 is the second order set of transactions which control and maintain the system. For example, the teacher, as a member of the school organization, has his own patterns of transactions with administrators and other teachers, and these patterns inhibit or prevent changes in student-teacher transactions.

Each organization has its own goals, values, and preferred ways of operation which are shared by the majority of its members, or at least the majority of the leaders. These organizations are not static, they adapt to changes in internal and external circumstances. However, it is the style of the adaptation which is most important. As a federally or state funded program or even a program chosen locally (by the superintendent, school board, or community) is implemented by the staff of the school aspects of the program will begin to alter in conformance with goals, values, and preferred ways of the bureaucracy. Sometimes this can be beneficial, but generally when innovative behavior is required, especially because of "outside" forces, it is not. Much of the lack of innovative behavior experienced with ESEA Title I programs can be traced to the above problem.

## Reduced Class Size

By analyzing the effect of reduced class size, we can illustrate the method in more detail than can be shown for each individual program. In this example, one must be careful to distinguish between programs that solely reduce class size and programs in which a reduction in class size supports a planned change in teaching techniques. In the latter case, it is the change in teaching techniques rather than the change in class size that is the thrust of the program. This illustrative analysis is restricted to cases in which the reduction in class size itself is the principal thrust.

The proponents of reduced class size take the view that the students constitute the teacher's "work." Therefore, the fewer students a teacher has, the better job he will be able to do on each student. This argument looks very persuasive. However, it is impossible to assess its validity independent of the transactional patterns in a classroom.

The vast majority of the classrooms in this country are teacher centered. The teacher is the center of all communication. Most often, he is lecturing or asking a student to answer a question or explain a particular point. In the lecture, the teacher is clearly treating the class as a group, but this is also the case in the questioning of individual students to find out "where the class is." Even questions from individual students are group oriented when they only verbalize a group question because of an unclear teacher presentation. Other uses of class time such as taking roll and clerical duties are also group oriented. Only a very small fraction of class time is individual oriented. Examples of individual oriented time would be time allocated to a student for raising a question that interests him because of his background, or for discussing an insight he had.

The point of the distinction between group and individual transactions is that effectiveness of the group-teacher transactions tend to be independent of group size. Certainly for variations in class size from 35 to 20 students (the typical extent of the variation), little change in group transactions or their effect could be expected. Furthermore, with this magnitude of change in class size, there is no obvious "trigger" internal to the class size reduction itself that would cause a change in teaching practices and the proportion of group versus individual transactions. Perhaps a reduction in class sizes to as low as three to five students would be needed to trigger a change automatically.

Furthermore, this deals only with first level components of transaction, in which "academic" learning takes place. There is even less inherent reason for changes to occur in the second level components of role affirmation and exploration of consonant and dissident world views and self images, unless transaction structure undergoes changes.

The experience of New York City with its MES program is instructive because it probably represents the lower limit to which most school districts could carry class size reductions. The actual student-adult ratio was reduced to 12 to 1, and the student-teacher ratio to 19 to 1.

In his evaluation of the program, David J. Fox of the Center for Urban Studies found that the reduction in class size was not accompanied by any change in method of instruction in most classes.* Consequently, there was little if any change in the transactional patterns between student and teacher. Consistent with our analysis, the academic achievement of the students, as measured in reading tests, was not increased in the MES schools as a group, compared to the control schools.

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* Fox, op. cit.

This is not an isolated finding. The effect of changes in class size on academic achievement has been investigated as frequently as any in the entire educational literature, and while the issue is still unsettled as far as practitioners are concerned, the research concensus is overwhelming that major improvements will not occur if class size alone is changed.* As a result the federal ESEA program guidelines expressly forbid programs in which a reduction in class size is the sole component.

As a program funded under ESEA Title I, the New York experience is also instructive because the original proposal called for in-service courses to aid teachers in changing their teaching patterns to take greatest advantage of the reduced class sizes and the additional special personnel and services that were provided. In the implementation of the program, this part of the program was "forgotten." This was not because changes in classroom practice were thought to be unimportant.

We would contend that this is not accidental, but is the result of the values, priorities, and operating procedures that are common to personnel of most school districts and that have resulted in many similar occurrences in other districts, and will continue to do so in the future, unless specific plans are made to prevent them. Specifically, the teacher centered classroom was the accepted mode for teaching in the New York City School System. Consequently, not only was a continuation of current practices acceptable, but there were few classrooms (and hardly any in minority schools) that could act as a model to train teachers in the new teaching patterns. Therefore, effective training would have required going "outside the system" for models. Furthermore, the recommendations for training and changes in classroom procedure were made by individuals not directly responsible for these changes. Thus, the recommenders of change tended not to have responsibility for implementation, and those charged with implementation faced a difficult innovative problem and minimal sanctions for failure to innovate. It was to be expected that this part of the program was given low priority and "forgotten."

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* The measurement of the effect of reduced class size is extremely difficult. In an experimental versus control analysis in a school district, the problem of the placebo or Hawthorne effect is present. However, an analysis of natural variations within or across districts must control for all the other factors that could be correlated with class size (i.e., better teacher could be rewarded with smaller classes, or higher socioeconomic districts could have smaller classes). Nevertheless, most of the problems would tend to enhance the estimated magnitude of the benefit due to reduced class size. Consequently, the nearly universal absence of any evidence on a major positive effect on the students of a reduction in class size alone provides considerable confidence that its effect is at best minimal (given current classroom practices).

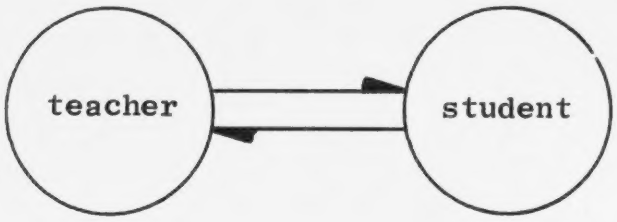
A reduction in class size does have some effects. For the teacher, it represents less work in class, less grading and working outside class, and potentially more manageable discipline problems. Unfortunately, most of these benefits appear to remain with the teacher and are not effectively transferred to the students.

On the other hand, the reduction in class size and additions of special service personnel could easily be accomplished within the normal administrative routine. This change was highly valued by both teachers and administrators because it provided "better working conditions," consistent with firmly held beliefs on education. It was rapidly and fully implemented.

## Professional Programs

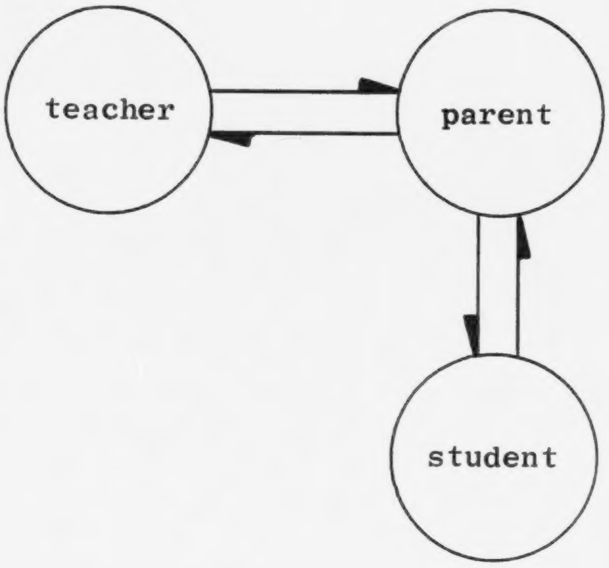
The "teacher's solution" for urban education problems will be some form of program that is centered on professionals and their technical skills. Integration in the form of an education park may be accepted, but it is only a change in the inputs to the programs. Community control-community participation can, however, alter the context in which programs are developed and instituted and such control and participation are generally viewed as unfavorable. This section deals with what the teachers, i.e., the professionals, have to offer in the way of innovation to ensure "quality education" in either an education park or a neighborhood school. Professionals include not only the staffs of local school districts but also state and federal departments of education, the teacher colleges, and the textbook and equipment manufacturers. It tends to be classroom and staff (teachers, counselors, librarians, . . . ) centered upon those aspects of education for which the school is "officially" responsible. Many of the programs to be discussed have been developed by educational researchers rather than teachers themselves. They have different degrees of acceptance among teaching practitioners, a variable which will be covered in the individual discussions. This section covers a broad sample of the professional programs from which "teachers" in individual districts will draw.

The professional programs, being teacher centered, relate primarily to the student-teacher transactions, i.e.,



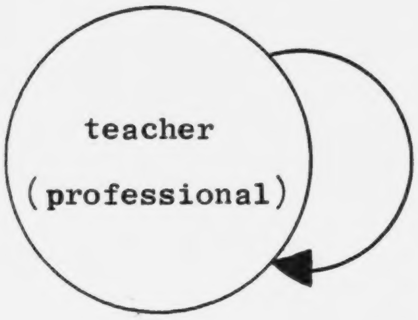
Under this approach would be changes in class size, new teaching methods, and changes in other services, such as counselors or social workers, and extension of the programs into earlier childhood years such as Headstart. A variation on this theme is to exploit a student's ability to learn from other students through such programs as student run tutorials (with the teacher in an advisory capacity).

A few professional programs are directed toward teacher-parent-child transactions, i.e,



In such transactions, a professional works with the parent to change the home learning situation. An example would be Ira Gordon's Early Childhood Program at the University of Florida. This program teaches subprofessionals from the community to work with mothers in incorporating a specific list of learning experiences into the environment of the baby and pre-schooler. In addition to these formal programs, most PTA meetings and parent teacher conferences generally fall in this area.

Finally, there are the wide variety of courses, symposiums, and training program to enhance the teacher's professional skills and increase his effectiveness, i.e.,



Programs are offered by colleges and universities, and most school districts have in-service training programs (though often quite meager). Informally, the teachers' lunch room often acts in this capacity. Teacher (re)training can potentially be the most crucial element of any professional program for change. The teacher or professional is the driving force behind these programs and he must have the capability and motivation to make a program a success. If the capability and motivation are not already at the proper level, program planning must include steps to bring them to the required level.

## Specific Programs

Proposals for the construction of education parks or more neighborhood schools generally incorporate a multitude of proposals for new professional programs. This diversity of programs could create a large workload for the analysis, but in fact, the problem is precisely the opposite. Only a minimum amount of transactional analysis is possible. The programs are specified in "catchall" terms which provide minimum insight into the changes that would occur in transactions. The variables that are important to program effects remain unspecified.

One reason for this is that relatively few programs were developed from an educational model that specifies the preferred ways for minority or low socioeconomic white children to encounter educational experiences.

Most are simply directed toward better working conditions for the staff (and students), such as lower class sizes or case loads, better or newer buildings and laboratories, and better equipment. Others are "experimental" in the sense that a change is simply made in a bad situation in hopes that the results will be better. And a few programs merely observe the unwritten law that more is better, less is worse.

A partial list of professional programs is given in Figure 2. They are listed under four general categories; better facilities, more staffing, improved equipment, and new instructional approaches. For the purpose of transactional analysis, the better facilities and more staffing will be thought of as the "numbers" approach to educational change. The new instructional approaches are called "innovative"; and the improved equipment is in between.

In the "numbers" approach, there can be more or less of an item, but the way in which it is generally used in the school system will not be altered. For example, a counselor may have fewer students to handle, but his professional/operational approach will stay the same.*

In an innovative approach, changes are expected to occur in "standard operating procedure." A new teaching approach is tried, i.e., team teaching, or a different orientation to learning is used, i.e., work-study programs. However, one must be careful with the innovative programs because whereas in the "numbers" approach the change is usually a highly visible change in facilities or staffing, the innovative programs require of the staff behavioral changes that are not easily visible and may be resisted by the staff. A school that employs team teaching may have adapted it so greatly to "local circumstance" that it would be unrecognized by

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* The possibility that this assumption understates the effect of the change is protected against by the use of the empirical data from evaluation studies, whenever available.

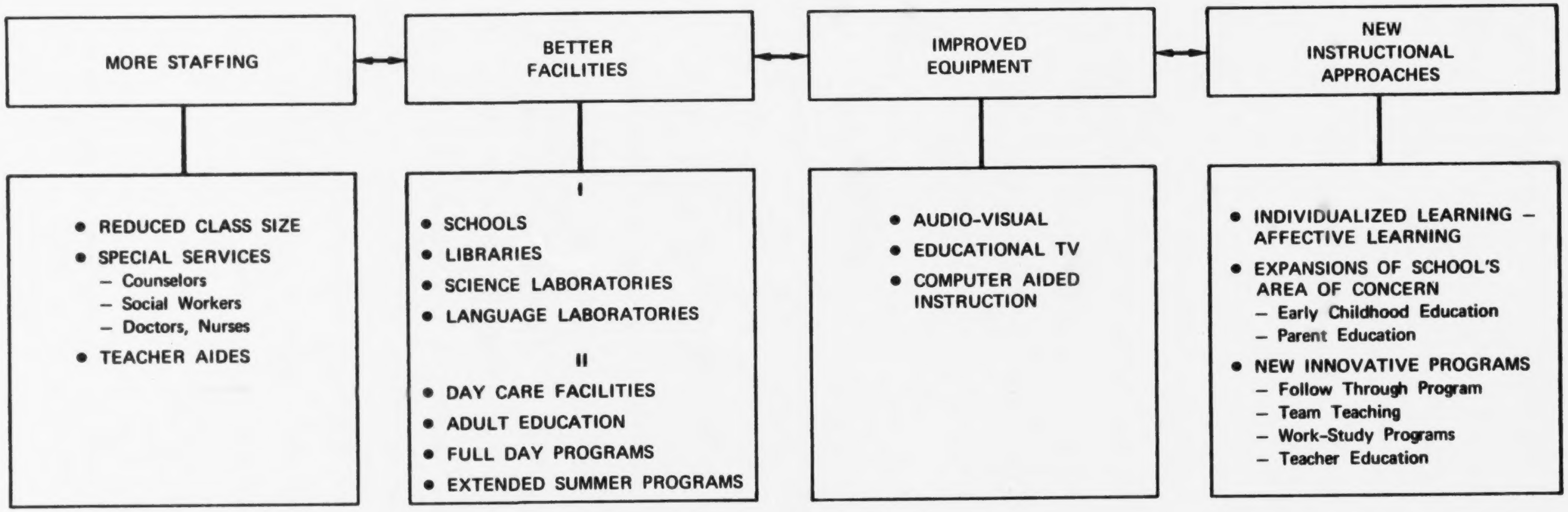
MORE STAFFING
BETTER FACILITIES
IMPROVED EQUIPMENT
NEW INSTRUCTIONAL APPROACHES
• REDUCED CLASS SIZE
• SPECIAL SERVICES
– Counselors
– Social Workers
– Doctors, Nurses
• TEACHER AIDES
I
• SCHOOLS
• LIBRARIES
• SCIENCE LABORATORIES
• LANGUAGE LABORATORIES
II
• DAY CARE FACILITIES
• ADULT EDUCATION
• FULL DAY PROGRAMS
• EXTENDED SUMMER PROGRAMS
• AUDIO-VISUAL
• EDUCATIONAL TV
• COMPUTER AIDED INSTRUCTION
• INDIVIDUALIZED LEARNING – AFFECTIVE LEARNING
• EXPANSIONS OF SCHOOL'S AREA OF CONCERN
– Early Childhood Education
– Parent Education
• NEW INNOVATIVE PROGRAMS
– Follow Through Program
– Team Teaching
– Work-Study Programs
– Teacher Education

FIGURE 2 APPROACHES TO QUALITY EDUCATION

those who originally developed the techniques of team teaching. The organizational issues involved in the effective adoption of innovations must be carefully considered in the analysis of the "innovative" programs.

## The "Numbers" Approach - Better School Facilities

There is little doubt that the large metropolitan areas of our country, particularly those in the northeast, require a major rebuilding of the schools in the inner city from both an architectural and a structural viewpoint.

In addition to the rebuilding of schools, considerable new construction is needed because of overcrowded classrooms.

In the cases where the facilities program is primarily designed to build more classrooms and thus reduce class size, the findings from the illustrative transactional analysis centered on the ability of a reduction in class size to initiate an improvement (change) in the transactional patterns show that little or no improvement can be expected.

Four ways in which a facilities program could affect transactions are:

1. The program can directly change transactions.
2. The conditions that the program modifies are a constraint upon other forces that can otherwise bring about change.
3. The conditions that the program modifies would be a constraint on many forces that can change transactions (but these forces are not currently operating).
4. The conditions that the program modifies are not a major constraint upon the forces that could improve education.

The potential for a facilities program to directly change transactions (item 1 above) would probably be in the area of second level transactions. It is in the area of expectation and motivation, and "subtle" transactional variable that a change from an old, drab, dilapidated building to a new modern structure could most affect transactions. The theory is that the better environment would reduce or eliminate a "trash can" mentality of both teachers and students, and thereby raise the expectations and motivations of both to the betterment of the students. However, the lack of difference between the outcomes in old and new schools in ghettos without other changes does not indicate that this effect is likely to be important. Unfortunately, the same data also indicate that merely better facilities are unlikely to release forces which already exist, i.e., item 2. Probably, the truth is found in item 3 or item 4, in which a new facility program alone will not significantly improve urban education. This is a primary reason why this report does not consider school construction in isolation. The other sources from which to activate forces capable of improving urban education in new (or old) facilities must be found.

A number of changes in school facilities relate more to community "needs" than to strictly academic work. Among these are day care centers for working mothers; adult education classes; operation of a full day school program to keep the facilities open in the late afternoon and night for the members of the community; and extended summer programs. Except for the extended summer school programs--which can often be more imaginative and creative than the standard program of the school year--little direct impact upon students would be expected.

If these programs are sensitive to community needs and can increase community participation and support in the school, they can have a major effect upon teacher-parent transactions and subsequently upon parent-student and teacher-student transactions. However, the available data suggest that this relationship is very "iffy." Schools tend to be insensitive to the felt needs of lower class and minority communities and provide what professionals feel would benefit the community with little or no community involvement. It is likely that even if the facilities are used (e.g., a day care center probably would be used even in areas of considerable distrust of the public school), the effect upon community-school transactions will be slight.

In sum, an improvement in school facilities could eliminate a constraint upon forces which could change transactional patterns between teachers and students. However, the evidence on changes when facilities have been improved strongly suggests that the existing forces for change are not currently of a significant magnitude in urban school districts to make a difference. If these forces ever did become significant, overcrowding and poor facilities could be a major constraint on the operation of these forces.

## More Staffing

The types of programs listed under more staffing are: (1) increase of special service personnel such as counselors, social workers, school nurses and (2) introduction of teacher aides. These types of programs are extremely popular in most school districts, because if facilities are available and staff can be hired, these programs:

- Can be instituted on comparatively short notice, compared to changes in instructional practices.
- Create minimum "political" problems within the school, since such programs will not usually be to the absolute disadvantage of any member of the staff.
- Provide high visibility to the school's efforts to improve education.
- Can be executed by a few administrators, without participation by, or coordination with, the "already overburdened teaching staff."

A program that forsakes a purely "numbers" approach and attempts to combine more staffing with changes in instructional practices tends to lose the above practical administrative advantages for a school district. Consequently, it is not surprising that many if not most compensatory programs such as those financed under ESEA Title I are "number" changes and involve little innovation as actually implemented, compared to what was proposed.

Special Services. The classroom teacher is supported (in varying degrees) by a long list of specialist who handle particular student concerns. This list includes counselors, social workers, school doctors and nurses, speech therapists, school psychologists, and reading specialists (plus a variety of curriculum specialists not considered here). Invariably, these specialists have a workload that does not permit adequate time to use the best professional practice for each student. A reduction in workload, i.e., an increase in staffing, will increase the quality of the input. However, it is the change in transactions and the output that is the prime concern.

A distinction should be made between specialists who have the professional resources to correct problems they identify, such as a speech therapist, or reading specialist; and those who can only aid the student primarily by providing information, i.e., a counselor or social worker. In the former case, the objective can presumably be achieved solely by a reduction in workload. However, prolonged treatment by a specialist based on a one to one (or few to one) student/professional ratio is an unrealistic hope for any significant fraction of the school population with the current sources of funding. Expansions of specialist services such as often occurred under ESEA Title I funding have benefited the few who were serviced, but these were only a few.

In the latter case, in which only aid is given, the benefits are more tenuous. The case of reduced workload for counselors can be used as an illustration. The counselor aids the student in selecting courses (i.e., placing him in a program and a track), and in making college or employment plans. At the workload levels found in many schools (800 or more students per counselor), counseling tends to be based upon a mechanical interpretation of past grades, test results, and student's expressed interests, with minimum insight into each student's unique potential. With a lower student/counselor ratio, more individualization could result.

However, the counselor can provide significant aid to the student only if he can make the student aware of available options that were previously unknown to the student. Some examples of significant aid are: if the student has some unrecognized potential and the counselor can suggest a school program (which is available) to develop it; if the counselor can direct the student to a better career pattern (not closed by discriminatory entry requirements); if the counselor can guide the student to a better selection of a college (which he can afford); or if the counselor can refer the student to other secondary training such as the Job Corps. If on the other hand, more research into the student's file fails to turn up new possibilities (in addition to those that the student has already learned about from parent, friends, teachers, newspapers, bulletin board, and television announcements), then the counseling does not provide anything more than a processing of forms. Unfortunately, the student populations in the urban core typically have so few options currently open to them by the time they reach high school that increased counseling seems to offer very little. More often than not, a counselor, if he is "realistic" in his transactions with the student, only serves to reinforce a negative self image.

Many schools have greatly increased counseling service to an experimental group seeking to reduce the number of dropouts, only to find that the dropout rate remains the same as for the control group. Students sometimes speak about "appreciating" the increased attention, but it does not alter their evaluation of their "career" plans, at least as far as staying in school is concerned.

If counseling is to make a difference in urban core schools, it seems clear that the need is to expand the options open to the students, and hence the value of information on these options to the student. Additional school resources might be better spent on working to open apprenticeship programs, or providing college scholarships, than reviewing with the student the few options currently available.

The empirical data on evaluations of increases in professional personnel (other than teachers) support this analysis. Studies of students, doing poorly in classwork, who were provided with specialized counselors for intensive academic help failed to show significant results. "In reviewing four such studies, Callis (1963) reports that two of them found no difference in the achievement of counseled and uncounseled students. One reported advantage for the counseled students, and one reported mixed results. Of two well controlled studies appearing too late for Callis' review, one (Shouksmith and Taylor, 1964) found an advantage for the counseled students, and one (Winborn and Schmidt, 1962) found that the students not counseled made a superior gain."*

Teacher Aides. The use of paraprofessionals from the minority community in the public school is a program that is receiving increasing attention for both its educational and employment possibilities (i.e., New Careers program). Teacher aides are classed under the "numbers" change programs, rather than the "innovative" programs when they are not involved in the instructional process (sometimes a restriction by state law). They take roll, straighten up the room, provide playground monitoring, and operate mimeograph machines in the central office. Thus, student-teacher transactional patterns are not altered. However, other "innovative" programs such as Headstart and Follow Through do use aides in combination with the teacher to create new transactional patterns in the classroom. These programs will be discussed under new instructional approaches.

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* J. M. Stephens, the Process of Schooling, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, New York, N.Y. 1967.

## New "Innovative" Instructional Approaches

Within the four categories of professional programs, new instructional or "innovative" approaches are "where the action is." This study has formulated the basic question in the analysis of educational issues in terms of the capability of a program to change transactional patterns. The common thread of all the approaches listed under new instructional approaches in Figure 2 is that they require some innovative behavior on the part of the school district. Each new instructional approach is directed, at least partially, to changing an aspect of student-teacher-parent transactional patterns. By contrast, the "numbers" approach embodied in facilities and staffing programs changes transactional patterns only indirectly.

It might be reasonable to expect a detailed discussion of the type of transactions that each instructional program attempts to change, and its relative effectiveness in making these changes. However, the reasonable expectation must be set against the fact that although many "innovative" instructional programs for low socioeconomic minority and white children have shown "great promise" while under "experimental control," they tend to lose much, if not all, of their effectiveness after being instituted into the public school system. It is inappropriate to make any comparison between what an operating program such as team teaching or Headstart is and what a new experimental program could be.

Moreover, the labels used for the instructional approaches provide minimum program definition. Consequently, as a particular program is implemented in a school district, it is difficult to look at the modifications that occur and specify a permissible range of variation and the point at which it ceases to fit the program model and a new label should be created.

Shifting the focus from the program to the process, the study of innovation and organizational change has shown that change is most effectively introduced when the following conditions are present:*

1. The participants are committed to change, i.e., they see intrinsic and extrinsic reward from the change.

2. The participants are capable of the behavior required by the change, i.e., expected behavior has been realistically matched to personal capabilities and level of instruction and practice provided.

3. Adequate environmental support is provided, i.e., required resource personnel, materials, equipment, classroom space, and so forth.

4. The participants obtain an adequate level of rewards from effective innovative behavior.

5. The formal and informal communication channels and the personal style of the participants support effective adaptive behavior for meeting the problems that arise as new programs are implemented.

It is very seldom that each of these five conditions is met for a major change in instructional approach. In fact, it is not hard to find situations in which change has been decreed by an administrator, yet none of these conditions exist.

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* This description is drawn from "Complex Organizations: The Implementation of Major Organizational Innovations" by Neal Gross, Joseph Giacquinter, and Marilyn Bernstein, presented to the 1968 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, August 1968.

At present, it appears that in urban school districts, change in the organizational response to instructional innovations is the crucial need. The selection among instructional innovations is important, but it is in a subsidiary relationship to organizational response to innovation in general. With these major qualifications, the "innovative" instructional approaches will be discussed.

Individualized Learning--Affective Learning. Two broad classes of changes can be made in the transactional patterns of the teacher centered and academically oriented classroom. One thrust is toward individualizing the instruction for each student; the other is to recognize affective learning, such as values, needs, and interpersonal relationships, as an explicit, rather than implicit, part of the curriculum. In theory these thrusts are complementary because individualization implies looking at the individual as a unique person, not a standardized learning machine, and affective learning requires individualized participation even in group processes.

However, at present the two thrusts are widely separated because nearly all of the research work on individualized instruction concentrates on hard curriculum, while research on affective learning concentrates on the introduction of new curricular emphasis. An example of the results of current work on individualized instruction is the Individually Programmed Instruction material which was developed by the University of Pittsburgh and is now commercially available for grades one through six. Also, most of the work on programmed instruction and computer aided instruction (to be discussed in the "Improved Equipment" section following) is a type individualized instruction. Examples of affective learning can be found in the affective learning project of George Brown of the University of California at Santa Barbara, in several California school districts, and in the "contract curriculum" work of Mario D. Fantini and Gerald Weinstein of the Ford Foundation.

It is our assessment of the two approaches that current work on affective learning may hold the greatest differential benefit for urban school districts compared to suburban middle class districts. By making affective material an explicit rather than implicit part of the curriculum, it should be possible to meet and at least partially resolve the issues inherent in the strife resulting from poverty and racism.

Both individualized instruction and affective learning can result in major changes in transactional patterns. However, as with programmed instruction and computer aided instruction, these terms tend to be concepts rather than specific approaches, and a simple description of transactional and organizational effects will not be attempted. Each of the approaches is a major study area for the Educational Policy Research Center at Stanford Research Institute, and separate reports will be made in the future.

Expansions of the School's Area of Concern. Early childhood education and parent education (distinct from adult education) represent expansions of the normal school program.

Early childhood education programs result from research which indicates that many children from lower socioeconomic homes come to school with built-in disabilities traceable to early childhood experiences. The objective of early childhood or preschool programs is to correct these deficiencies. Typical programs are prekindergarten classes financed by ESEA Title I funds of OEO's Headstart.

Three road blocks, however, stand in the way of the school's exercising greater control over its environment by these "pre-processing, quality assurance" programs. First, there is a growing body of evidence that the child's experiences at one or two years of age are very important, and present programs do not begin before four years of age. Second, the effect of the environment upon the student is not limited to developing skills before he enters school, but interacts with the formal curriculum at all levels. And third, there is only moderate agreement on the appropriate nature of the preschool experience.

Evaluation of preschool programs under Headstart or ESEA Title I show improved performance, but evidence to date suggests that the beneficial effects generally last less than a year. Currently, these evaluations suffer from very poor information on the actual experiences of the students in different individual projects. No model for early childhood education has wide acceptance, and wide variations occur in program content. Some increase in effectiveness might be expected if theory and practice were brought into a closer relationship. However, the child's capabilities mature over many years, and if the home and neighborhood is truly the "drag" it is assumed to be, the effects of an early "big push" will be dissipated.

Parent education "recognizes the same facts," but attempts to change the results by working with parents to aid them in better performing their function in an "educational partnership."

Parent education, by making an attempt to modify student-parent transactions, can potentially have a much longer lasting effect. Sheppard's program at the Bannekar School in St. Louis had this component. Another program is that of Ira Gordon of the University of Florida. In the program, the parents of children one and two years old are instructed in a series of simple techniques by paraprofessionals selected from the community. Reports are good regarding its acceptance and use by the parent, and its impact upon the child.

By contrast, a highschool program that has white teachers telling minority parents how their sons and daughters should act to gain rewards (which neither the parents nor students can perceive as real) is doomed to failure.

Parent education is believed to be one possible major thrust for changing transactional patterns. School construction alternatives therefore should be carefully assessed in terms of their indirect impact upon parent-student transactions through changed teacher-parent transactions. In these terms, a mini-school would rate high and an education park, low. However, the initiation of any large program of teacher "involvement with minority parents" with the resulting diversion of time and funds from classroom activities will likely face an uphill battle. Therefore, particularly careful attention should be paid to all the requirements listed for effective organizational innovation.

Empirical evidence on effects of parent education are meager, though they appear most favorable in the preschool and primary grades where teacher-parent interaction would be expected to proceed the smoothest. Data from California on ESEA Title I programs in 1967 indicate that programs having interaction between parents and students are among the most effective in the state, as measured by achievement tests.*

New "Innovative" Programs in the School. Many hundreds of new programs are tried in public schools each year. Most of them are on a small scale financed by district funds. Larger efforts are often financed by the federal government through ESEA Title I and Title III funds or by foundations.

While all these "innovative" programs could potentially change transactional patterns, few probably do. The comments on the required prerequisites for educational innovation in the introduction are most appropriate. Measured against these prerequisites, most programs never have a fighting chance. Three specific educational programs will be discussed.

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* However, problems of self-selection raise questions on the validity of the evaluation in most of the districts evaluated.

They have been selected mainly to present diversity, and no claim for coverage is made.

Follow Through Program. This program was envisioned as the successor to Headstart at the kindergarten through third grade level. It is unique in both its insistence on an educational model against which to compare local district programs, and its research emphasis. Fourteen sponsors espousing a wide variety of educational practices have been selected by individual school districts (over 400 in total) to test their programs in selected primary classrooms in their districts. The sponsor has responsibility for training district personnel in his educational model and supporting its implementation.

While these sponsors tend to agree on broad (and hence nebulous) goals, the specifics reveal striking divergences in philosophy. Some sponsors talk in terms of unfolding the child's innate potential; others talk about contingency management and operant conditioning. Some sponsors concentrate on classroom instruction, others on classroom and parents, and one on only parents. Most use teacher aides and other adults in the classroom.

Since the evaluation of these programs will include classroom observational records, it is possible that a significant increase in our understanding of teaching practices may occur. Ultimately (when evidence concerning the effect of different sponsors' programs on student performance in high school and college is available), basic changes from current instructional practices may be indicated. At present (1969), the program is only in its second year.

Team Teaching. Hardly a new approach, team teaching is an attempt to improve education by more effective utilization of teachers. The essential element of team teaching is the combination of two or three classes and their teachers, with each teacher specializing in and teaching a different area of the subject matter. The resulting "free time" is used by the "off duty" teacher in various ways. Some programs use it mainly for teacher preparation of presentations, while others use it to permit specialized work by the teacher with a small part of the combined classes.

Numerous empirical evaluations of team teaching have been made. The studies emerging so far (Ginther and Shrayer, 1962; Whitel 1964; Zweibelson and others, 1965) suggest little, if any, consistent difference between the effectiveness of team teaching and the effectiveness of more traditional approaches. Lambert and his associates (1965) found team teaching to be somewhat less effective. In the Zweibelson report (1965), however, we find a favorable student attitude toward team teaching.

Work-Study Programs. An entirely different approach is aimed at the reduction of the wall between the school and real life. A variety of work-study programs have been tried in which the student alternates between the work world and the academic world. At the college level, when these programs are offered, they have typically been supported by a small though very enthusiastic segment of the student body. Some colleges, such as Antioch, prescribe work-study as the basic curriculum of the school. Examples of programs at the high school level are less frequent and generally less successful. However, as a method of preventing a student from completely dropping out of school, work-study programs are gaining support in the form of continuation school progress. For example, California has a Continuation School Program under which students between 16 and 18 can reduce their school schedule to as low as 4 hours per week while working the other hours. In theory, courses and counseling are tailored to the needs of each student, and high school graduation is an eventual possibility. The actual quality of the program is highly variable between school districts.

Teacher Education. Most teacher colleges and education departments in universities have been slow to respond to the needs of urban school districts. Even schools of higher learning located in urban areas have not aggressively recruited minority students, nor have they adequately prepared the students for teaching in lower socioeconomic urban schools. Though some steps have been taken, serious deficiencies remain.

Unfortunately, the situation in the initial education of teachers is much better than the situation with respect to their continuing education. A professional development program for teachers comparable to that in industry and many branches of the government is practically unheard of in urban school districts. Before the teacher receives tenure, some efforts are usually made to aid and evaluate him, but after tenure, such efforts are practically non-existent in many districts. A few faculty meetings, occasional lectures, and the (often irrelevant) course which can be taken for added pay are all that is generally available. This situation is reflected in the inadequate teacher preparation and support which plague new educational innovations (sometimes even those in which training is funded by an outside source). Teachers provide, but infrequently consume, education.

As important as keeping current in the state of the art is, perhaps even more important is the continuing development of each teacher's competence, and his ability to work from his existing strengths and weaknesses. Of course, to systematically upgrade the quality of teaching requires some knowledge of those teacher behaviors or transactional patterns which are most beneficial to students. Until 1960 the sum total of research in the area of teacher effectiveness had produced little, if any, tangible results. Since about 1960, however, the nature of the research findings has changed. Probably the milestone in this shift is the finding reported by Flanders in 1960 of significant positive relationships between the characteristics of student-teacher transactions, as measured by his observation system, and both pupil achievement growth and more favorable attitudes.*

Tools are now available to create observational records of teachers' classroom work and then study these records, so that teachers can develop strengths and eliminate weaknesses--exercising care that these records are independent of the teacher's formal evaluation.

"Teachers trained in Flanders Interaction Analysis or one of its modifications teach differently than teachers who have not had this training. They lecture less, criticize less, and their pupils talk more. More of the teacher interaction is emotionally supportive, and acceptant of pupil ideas. In Flanders' terms, they teach more indirectly (Amidon, 1966; Hough and Ober, 1966). There is also evidence that they are better able to alter their teaching behavior from situation to situation (Amidon, 1966; Hough and Ober, 1966; Simon, 1966), whereas the evidence suggests other teachers tend to each their classes as though they were interchangeable (Pfeiffer, 1966; Simon, 1966), and teach the beginning, middle, and end of a unit of study in similar fashion (Furst, 1967). Similarly, the teacher given a system for looking at the cognitive level of discourse in his classroom tends to raise it (Sanders, 1966). Apparently what happens is that the teacher trained in such a system is given a means both for conceptualizing, and for measuring what he is doing in his classroom, and these together provide him with a feedback loop. Then he can examine his teaching behavior to see whether it conforms to his conception of what good teaching is like. If it doesn't, he has rather specific information about how to change, and a way, in turn, for testing whether his attempt to change has been successful."*

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* Robert S. Soar, Humanizing Secondary Schools, Alternative Means of Achieving Humaneness, supporting research paper presented to Secondary Education Council ASCD Meeting, St. Louis, November 1967, pg. 3.

Other techniques which use video equipment to tape and play back to the teacher how he handled given situations (i.e., micro teaching) also appear to have a major impact upon the teachers.

In another direction, there are many opportunities that open up if the staff is considered a team with a mission, rather than a group of minimally related individuals. The individual cannot accomplish much in a city neighborhood by himself, but the school staff--working to support each other in school reform, initiation of community contacts, and mobilization of community resources as well as in the solution of instructional problems--can have a major effect. Also available and in use in some schools are sensitivity or encounter group techniques for opening the communication channels for effective participation in school operation. When the composition of such groups is expanded to include minority parents and students, many of the issues of racial tension and hidden racism can be brought to the surface and explicated, and a start can be made toward understanding and solution.

Continuing teacher education will not necessarily solve the educational problems of the city. However, without upgrading the competence of the teaching staff, the human resources required for quality education will not be available. This task cannot be given to teacher colleges, for few are adequately training teachers for teaching in the cities to begin with, and even fewer have programs to retain teachers.

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* Soar, op.cit., pg. 29.

It appears that the school district itself must do it, or hire outside contractors to do it for the district.

Continuing teacher education need not necessarily be considered a force for innovation in itself--though we believe it could be--to be important. Whether he operates as lecturer, learning manager, discussion leader, or field supervisor, the "teacher" is the adult with a central role in formal education. He can do more to inhibit or aid the learning process than any other single professional, except those administrators embedded in a bureaucracy that currently inhibit or neglect teacher growth.

### Improved Equipment

The majority of the new instructional equipment and supplies developed by educational suppliers each year is designed to support existing transactional patterns. The list includes a vast array of text and work books, flannel boards, flash cards, models, displays, tape recorders, and a wide variety of projectors. With these items, the teacher must provide software, i.e, the classroom presentation, and the equipment acts as a supplement or "frame" for the teacher's educational philosophy. Minimal change in transactional patterns occur. Of more interest are two systems that provide much of the software, educational television and computer aided instruction.

Educational Television. The presumed instructional advantage of film or educational television is found in its ability to elaborately stage a presentation, and to use "master teachers" to prepare and present the material. However, the nature of the medium requires that the presentation be teacher centered with no feedback from the students (except for occasional call-in arrangements on educational TV). The presentation is fixed and aimed at a preconceived audience. Differences between

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grade levels and classrooms are met by broadening the material and making the presentation self contained, or as the difference becomes too great, by making multiple presentations.

Motion pictures and educational television are capable of presenting material "independent" of the teacher (though he is still responsible for programming). However, these equipments (or systems) have the capabilities to change student-teacher transactions, though only for a small portion of the class time they are in use.

It is quite doubtful that any changes in student-teacher interpersonal transactions (i.e., the subtle variables relating to expectation and motivation) would result from the use of educational TV. With respect to curricular transactions, changes do occur but the passive position of the student represents a problem. There is general agreement among experts that lower socioeconomic children need more involved, less passive, educational forms.

Empirical evidence (not explicityly for minorities) on the learning of a specific study unit shows no clear difference between the results achieved by educational television and typical classroom instruction.*
While in terms of this study, such results are viewed as negative, it should be pointed out that instruction by educational TV could have a large cost benefit advantage over current practices. Currently a number of scheduling and staff utilization constraints stand in the way of

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* Of the 393 investigations investigated by Schramm (1962), 255 reported no significant difference. Of the remainder, 83 favored television, and 55 showed an advantage for the regular classroom. A later summary by Barrington (1965) covered some 30 investigations and revealed the same equivalence for television and classroom instruction. Schramm suggests that for the young children, there is a slight benefit from instruction by television, and for college students, there might be a slight handicap. But in no case can the difference be large, if it exists.

actualizing these advantages, but as the library of educational TV presentations increases in quality and quantity, it should be possible to solve these problems.

At present, movies and educational TV are normally used as supplements in the classroom. In the few cases where they are used as the principal instructional tool, such as in American Samoa, it is because of very special circumstances.

Computer Aided Instruction. The general model for computer aided instruction, programmed instruction, or special devices such as O. K. Moore's "talking" typewriter is both too broad and too narrow for an overall analysis. It is too narrow, because it is conceptualized in stimulus-response terminology and therefore raises conceptual issues exemplified by the Skinnerian versus Rogerian dichotomy. A discussion of these issues is beyond the scope of this study.

However, if the conceptual framework is accepted, one is almost forced to believe that more effective education is only a question of time. The research task is stated in terms of determining the optimal set of (1) stimuli to give the student and (2) methods for evaluating his response and selecting new stimuli for the student.

In the present "systems," the student is the only human element. This has a considerable number of research advantages by limiting the number of exogenous variables and increasing reproducibility. Certain cost advantages are also foreseen. However, there is no basic reason why teachers or other human resources cannot be included in future systems, and they probably will be.

In essence, computer aided instruction, perhaps more properly termed individually sequenced instruction, is a concept, not a particular technique. Consistent with the concept, many different types of impacts upon transactional patterns could be expected, depending upon the research program.

While the general concept cannot be evaluated within the framework of this study, the current embodiment of the concept into books and computer systems with specific cost structures and interfaces with the regular school program can be evaluated. Programmed instruction has the longest history and greatest number of evaluations. The evidence does not show significant advantages consistently resulting from programmed instruction. However, both the sequencing philosophy and the quality of the product holding the philosophy constant have had wide variations. Therefore, the evidence is hardly conclusive.* At present the "empirical" philosophy behind programmed instruction is much more widely accepted than the specific materials that have been produced. The evidence for computer aided instruction and other special devices from operation in a public school setting is fragmentary and anecdotal. Nevertheless, it appears that significant advantages are not yet available. Of course, this evaluation is only of what is now possible, and major research efforts are under way to increase the possibility.

Our evaluation of both educational television and computer aided instruction is that:

- The technology will not be capable of providing a major thrust for reducing the academic deficiencies (as currently measured) of minorities in the next five years.†

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* Other variables than the material are often poorly controlled in these studies. For example, the teacher is still very important, at least as a resource, with most programmed instruction material, but many studies do not control the teacher role.

† However, it is likely that in five years, comparison will be made, if at all, on different criteria.

- It would be unwise to embark on any change in educational structure which would inhibit the introduction of the new technologies until their comparative advantages become more apparent.

Fortunately, the "delivery system" of both educational television and computer aided instruction are readily adaptable technically to all of the educational alternatives considered by this paper. If obstacles to the new technology arise, they will almost certainly not be due to physical structure but rather organizational structures, values, and preferred methods of operations.

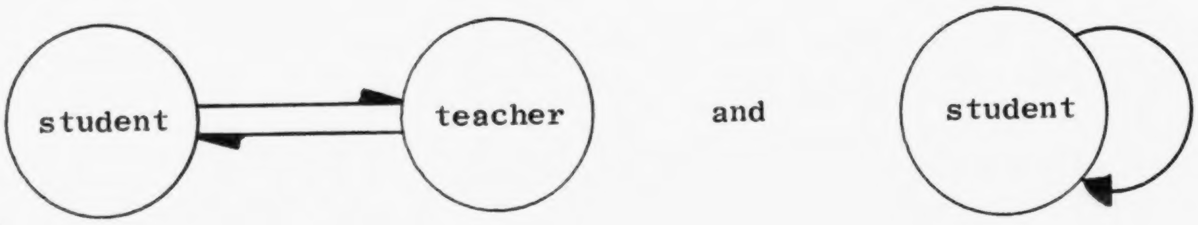
## Integration

Integration is a prime objective of the liberal white and moderate black community. Of the construction alternatives considered, only the education park relates to integration.

Integration can be understood as a goal in itself, or as a way to achieve a goal. Integration, as a goal, is a quality of a society in which individuals and institutions work together in a harmonious and mutually supporting manner. More specifically, in the United States the goal of integration has come to mean a pluralistic society in which every individual has freedom for economic, residential, and social mobility unlimited by one's race, creed, or parent's social position. However, this section is not about the desirability or importance of integration as a goal, but integration as a technique.

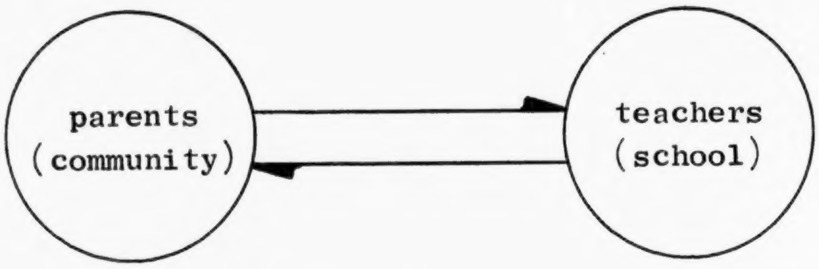
Integration, the technique, should probably be renamed racial and socioeconomic mixing. School integration involves the physical mixing of students of different races and socioeconomic classes in the school. As with professional programs, school integration will be evaluated on the basis of its potential ability to aid the schools in reaching certain goals, and the conditions that will enhance or limit the realization of this potential.

The primary effect of a change in the composition of the student body will be upon student-teacher and student-student transactions, i.e.,



Even to a casual observer, there are differences in the transactional patterns of a white middle class classroom and a black lower class classroom. If these two classes are mixed into two new classrooms, which are half black and half white, changes in the transactional patterns are likely to occur.

A change in the composition of the student body will also change the composition of the community from which the student body is drawn. This will result in a new relationship between the mixed community and the school, i.e.,



The presumed change in most proposals for integration is that the "normal" active and concerned participation of the parents of white students will be the dominant pattern, and provide a good example to the minority parents. In particular, these parents will force the school to raise the "educational quality" of the integrated schools compared to the formerly segregated ones. That is, white parents will be effective in ensuring that the schools their children attend are not dirty and dilipidated, and are not burdened with large classes and poorly trained uninterested teachers. In effect, "new" professional programs (discussed previously) will be instituted for the minority student because of the "power" of the majority parents and their own self interest. It is the minimum quid pro quo for integration demanded by white parents.

A number of other changes in community-school transactions are highly likely, if only because integration will occur in the context of changes now occurring in minority expectations and militancy. The major impact of such an integration program on these forces will depend on the way in which it is planned and implemented.

## Determinant of Amount of Change in Transactional Patterns

The amount of change in transactional patterns will be a function of the number of student-teacher and student-student transactional patterns that are altered. Since nearly all student-teacher transactions and most "academically related" student-student transactions occur in the context of the classroom, the classroom is the unit in which the racial and socioeconomic mixing must occur for greatest effectiveness. The concept of an "integrated" or racially balanced school in which the majority of the classrooms are de facto segregated is a hoax.

The nominal causes of de facto segregation, even in "integrated" schools, is ability grouping or tracking. The following is a description of the situation and recommendations for overcoming it by Dr. John Goodlad:

> "Certain conceptions of school function, expectations for learners, and school practices--particularly placing and grading pupils--that have long characterized our formal educational enterprise segregate and stereotype boys and girls within otherwise integrated schools.
>
> The need to eliminate discriminatory policies and practices within our schools will be with us long after the most serious barriers to racial and socioeconomic integration are removed....schools are not markedly countercyclical; they tend too much to reinforce rather than offset environmental distortions or emphases.
>
> The fact that racial segregation accompanies academic segregation in the nominally integrated school sharply delineates the need for two positive sets of educational circumstances. First, each student should work at his optimal level of readiness in each field of endeavor without stigma and without enforced separation from his natural peers. Second, the school milieu should provide for diagnosis of the readiness and learning potential of

> each child. Subsequent prescription must not result in the immobilization of the child in a segregated class placement."*

This description emphasizes that these practices are an integral part of most school systems and, therefore, it should be expected that they will be very difficult to change. Certainly the experience with integration to date strongly suggests that the achievement of racially balanced classrooms will be of an order of magnitude more difficult than the achievement of racial balance for an entire school at which most urban school districts have not achieved notable success. Not only are the forces opposing heterogeneous interracial mixing much stronger at the classroom than at the school level, but the opportunities to subvert such a policy in the myriad decisions on student programs and schedules are much greater than in the development of feeder plans for school integration.

In many ways the most interesting part in Dr. Goodlad's recommendations is: "The fact that racial segregation accompanies academic segregation in the nominally integrated school sharply delineates the need for two positive sets of educational circumstances."* The recommendations are for individualized learning of a quality that few of any public schools--urban or suburban--now have or are likely to have in the next five years. Thus, a major improvement is needed in educational practice so that classroom integration can occur--or so it seems, to judge by words of this advocate of integration whose viewpoint is not atypical.

The evidence, however, is overwhelming that, as measured by academic performance of the students, there is no justification for grouping students homogeneously (based on IQ or similar measures) rather than heterogeneously. If one is to believe the evidence, no great advance in teaching is needed to protect the gifted student in his associations with the less gifted. Consequently, when one finds that even advocates of integration are willing to place the "blame" for segregated classrooms in the "integrated" schools upon student needs (rather than the needs of teachers, and fears and prejudices of parents), the strength of the opposition to the early adoption of heterogeneous grouping in public schools becomes apparent.

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* John I. Goodlad, "Desegregating the Integrated School," Education Parks, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Clearinghouse Publication No. 9, October 1967, pp. 14-23.

This is what H. A. Thelen writes on this subject in his book "Classroom Grouping for Teachability," Wiley Publishers, New York, 1967:

> "There have been several examinations of all published studies in which achievement of students when grouped homogeneously by ability was compared with achievements when students are left in unselected or heterogeneous ability groups. In 1932 Billett reviewed the studies between 1917 and 1928; in 1931 Turney made his independent survey of the studies; Wyndham, an Australian, similarly, in 1934; Otto reviewed the studies in 1941 for the Encyclopedia of Educational Research; Goodlad, similarly, for the 1960 edition; Ekstrom a fresh analysis in 1959 Passow, made several surveys and studies between 1958 and 1965. In addition to these reviews of all previous research, several recent experiments, conducted with much more adequate scientific designs have attempted to pinpoint the effects of homogeneous ability grouping on a large number of specific cognitive and attitudinal learnings. Of these, mention can be made of studies by Elizabeth Drews at Michigan State, Miriam L. Goldberg and Harry Passow and associates at Teachers College, Walter Borg at the University of Utah, and The National Foundation for Educational Research, which is carrying on a study of "streaming in primary schools" of England and Wales. From several countries of Europe various scholars have tried, mostly with little rigorous research backing to "pull together" their country's experiences: Visalberghi at the University of Rome, Mme. Delepine at the Institute Superieur de Pedagogie, Morlanwelz, Belgium; Barker, Daniels, Pidgeon, and Yates in England; Husen and his group in Sweden, Norway and Denmark; Pause from Germany; M. Ortar, Israel, and Passow and Thelen, United States. These people plus the surveys mentioned previously in addition to abstracts of 48 of the better studies, were brought together for an international conference on grouping held at the Unesco Institute for Education in Hamburg, Germany, in November 1964.

> "The job of the conference was to review what is known about grouping, primarily by ability, and see what recommendations could be made concerning the various grouping practices. Their report is currently in press; the editor of their book is Alfred Yates of Oxford University.
>
> In general the findings are clear: grouping either homogeneously or heterogeneously by ability produces almost the same result.
>
> When it comes to school achievement in the various subjects as measured usually by tests, the evidence fails to support the hypothesis that children will learn more when they are separated by ability. (In several studies they seemed to learn more during the first one or two years but these differences ironed out later). When, say 32 specific scores for gains in achievement are collected, it is usually found that perhaps a quarter of them show statistically significant differences between the two forms of grouping, and the differences between them are equally favorable. Moreover, to make matters even more interesting, there seems to be no rhyme or reason in the particular patterns of superiority and, as noted, they may be reversed the following year.
>
> When it comes to noncognitive outcomes, such as self-perception, feelings of inferiority, mental health, etc., the evidence is scantier except in England where the unstreamed classes (heterogeneous) are consistently superior. Goldberg and Passow found that "the effects of narrowing the range or separating the extreme levels (of ability) was to raise the self assessment of the slow pupils, lower the initially high self rating of the gifted, and leave the intermediate levels largely unaffected." Self attitude was the only non-academic variable on which grouping had any consistent effects.

The advantages of homogeneous grouping is a firmly held part of the folk knowledge of both teacher and parents--despite all research findings to the contrary.* Consequently, in most school districts, the effective implementation of a program of classroom integration will take a level of skill, dedication, and open interchange with teachers and community exceeding even that required for major innovations in instructional techniques. If a school district is not willing to make this level of effort, there is little to be gained from attempts at integration and the program will be subverted, gutted, or eliminated.

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* When folk knowledge and research are as firmly opposed as they are on both reduced class size and homogeneous versus heterogeneous grouping, one suspects that they are not looking at the same "problem."

## Nature of the Changes in Transactional Patterns

Transactions have been previously divided into academic or affective (interpersonal) transactions. For the analysis of integration and subsequent community participation, a slightly different breakdown is more useful. One division of transactions will be in terms of the "operating" effects of the communication, e.g., the concept learned, or the relationship established to another person. However, transactions also act at a motivational and control level that determines those "operating transactions in which the individual wants to engage. They perform the task of enculturation, which is an implicit or explicit task of all schools, and will be called cultural transactions.

The "operating" transaction will continue to be subdivided into academic and effective. Unfortunately, this terminology tends to create a picture of three categories into which transactions can be sorted: cultural, academic, and affective. A pigeonholing of transactions is not intended. The labels refer to functions that each and every transaction will perform to some degree.

The importance of creating a new label, cultural transactions, results from the fact that the proponents of integration tacitly assume that the objective of the cultural transactions in the integrated classroom is the acceptance of some variant of the while middle class transactions.

An interesting insight is found in the fact that this objective is not considered to be at odds with the introduction of minority oriented material into transactions at the operating level. For example, a course on Afro-American history in the public school could be instituted. Not only black but also white would be expected to take it, because it would be viewed in the same way as a course in the history of Greece and Rome.* Clearly, this limited academic objective of black studies (in which whites would probably have their usual academic advantage over black) misses the point as far as minority advocates are concerned.

The effects of integration in a particular school district will depend on the magnitude of the challenge to middle class white cultural transactions. During the late fifties and early sixties, the challenges were disruptive to present operating practices primarily when a school attempted to integrate "without adequate preparation." That is, the school could integrate and maintain the status quo of cultural transactions, if the program was not extremely insensitive to minority needs. Currently, even without integration, increasing numbers of public schools can no longer maintain the status quo of cultural transactions. In the next five years, it is improbable that any major program for integration in an urban school district could occur without a major challenge to the cultural status quo.

An analysis of the specific educational effects of "confrontations" in an elementary and secondary schools is beyond the scope of this paper. However, an optimist would be sure that the student's education would be richer for the confrontation with "basic issues in the society." The pessimist would see the further alienation of the young and minorities from the current mainstream of society. Moreover, both would be right.

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* Of course, since each transaction performs all three functions to some degree, the study of Afro-American history could result in changes in cultural transactions.

In all likelihood, the spill-over from "confrontation" onto academic and social transactions will be negative, at least in the short run. The Racial Isolation Study* reports that in the ninth and twelfth grades, as racial tension (measured by teacher's reports) in the school increases, the minority student's verbal achievement, college plans, and sense of mastery over the environment decreases. However, the correspondence may be quite low between the types of racial tension perceived by teachers in 1965 and the confrontations initiated by militant minorities in 1969-1975.

The interrelationships between cultural, academic, and affective transactions as confrontation or enculturation occurs are complex, poorly understood, and at present appear to be highly situation-dependent. In such a situation, a baseline against which to estimate the future effects of integration is particularly important. The empirical findings of the Coleman report, as analyzed in the Racial Isolation Study, provides such a baseline.

### Coleman Report Data

On many points, the sampling, analysis, and interpretation of The Coleman Report data have been criticized. However, most of the major criticisms of these reports can be circumvented for our purposes here.†

The measure of Negro academic achievement in the Coleman study is a test of verbal achievement. The most significant explanatory variables are the parents' education, the school's average parent-education, the

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* Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

† For an example of the types of criticisms that have been made, see "The Determinants of Scholastic Achievement, An Appraisal of Some Recent Evidence," by Samual Bowles and Henry M. Levin, The Brookings Institute, Washington, D.C., 1968.

the proportion of white classmates last year, and the grade level at which the student was first in an integrated classroom.

These data shows that in the twelfth grade, Negroes in segregated classrooms average from three to four years behind the average of all white students on verbal achievement, holding constant the characteristics of parents and school.* To illustrate these findings, consider two situations. In the first situation, both the Negro and the white student have parents who did not complete high school and the students go to a school where the average education of the parents is less than a high school grade. Under these conditions, the average verbal achievement of the Negro in a segregated classroom is 4.9 years below grade level; for whites, it is 1.8 years below grade level. Socioeconomic factors cause both to do poorly, but the average Negro student is 3.1 years behind the white student.

In the second situation, the socioeconomic factors are more favorable. Both have parents who have had post high school training or college, and the students attended a school where the average parent is a high school graduate or more. The segregated Negroes' verbal achievement increases to only 1.6 years behind grade level. However, the average white is 2 years ahead of grade level. The difference is now 3.6 years.

The socioeconomic difference between these two situations has improved the average Negro achievement by 3.3 years, but both Negro and white benefit about equally. Therefore, the gap remains the same.

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* Similar results are reported for the 9th grade but the influence of each explanatory variable is not as sharply defined. Seemingly the elimination of dropouts before the 12th grade increased the strength of the relationships.

The academic advantage of integration is that it improves the Negroes' verbal ability, while not affecting the white's verbal ability. Our reanalysis of the data estimates that in a classroom with 50 percent or more whites, there is a 25 percent reduction in the difference between average verbal achievement scores or nearly a full one year improvement.* However, if the class is less than 50 percent white, the improvement in verbal achievement for the Negro due to racial mixing is reduced from one-half to two-thirds.

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* The raw data in the Racial Isolation report show a somewhat larger benefit due to majority white classes (30 to 40 percent). However, the grouping practices in high schools result in the more able Negroes being in the higher track classroom with a higher percentage of white students. Thus, at least part of the improvement (and part of the deficit of the segregated class) is due to the study's inability to hold the student's "innate" capability constant. In the table below, verbal achievement is tabulated by students' track in school (high, medium or low), and the percentage of white students in the school. According to the table, by holding the percentage of white students in the school constant, a greater percentage of black students will be in a majority white class in the high track than in the medium track, and a greater percentage in the medium track than in the low track.

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK STUDENTS IN CLASSES MORE THAN HALF WHITE

| Track | Percentage White Students in the School | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1-49% | 50-79% | 80-99% |
| High | 24 | 68 | 92 |
| Medium | 17 | 54 | 90 |
| Low | 13 | 45 | 80 |

Consequently, the more able Negro student will tend to be found in the last segregated classroom, given a constant overall percentage of whites in the school.

Thus, not only classroom integration rather than school integration is needed to improve verbal achievement of the Negro student, but the class must be majority white to achieve an average gain as large as one year. Since the school age population in many urban school districts is now or soon will be more than 50 percent minority, integration limited to the urban school district will not obtain this benefit.

Analyzing the effects of the earliest grade level at which the integration occurs, there appears to be a significant increase in the effectiveness of integration that starts in the primary grades--first, second, or third,--compared to initial integration at later grades. This effect ranges from approximately four-tenths of a year for Negroes with low socioeconomic parents and low socioeconomic schools, to nine-tenths of a year for Negroes with high socioeconomic parents in high socioeconomic schools. It is difficult to tell whether this is truly a school or neighborhood effect, but the analysis does indicate that the higher socioeconomic level Negro is more able to benefit from integration than the lower socioeconomic Negro, and that for both, the longer the integration, the better.

The Racial Isolation Report also provides data on several affective areas, such as sense of power over one's environment, college plans, attitudes toward interracial schooling, and choice of friends. The questions of power over one's environment were for ninth and twelfth grade Negroes. For the ninth graders, the question was: "Do you agree with, 'Good luck is more important than hard work for success?'". And for twelfth graders, the questions were: "Do you agree with, 'Every time I try to get ahead something or somebody stops me,' and 'People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life.'" Difference in each positive answer regularly favored Negroes in majority white classes compared to all-Negro classes and Negroes who first entered desegrated classes in the earlier elementary grades.

In addition, several questions were asked on probable and definite college plans, and those who had read a college catalog or contacted a college official. Despite the uncertainty in the meaning of percentages answering these questions, the overall indication is that differences favor the Negro student in the majority white class compared to the all-Negro class.

Finally, both whites and Negroes were asked about their attitude toward integrated schooling. Both were more favorable to integrated schooling, and more likely to have a friend of a different race the longer they had been in an integrated classroom situation.

## Conclusions

The overall tone of this analysis of integration has been slightly negative. This is due more to the temper of the times at the start of 1969 than the characteristics of integration. The empirical data on integration from the Racial Isolation Report show greater effects due to integration than empirical data presented for any other program. This achievement cannot be casually brushed aside. The record of integration planned by school districts and implemented by redistricting or busing is more clouded. However, the overall picture from the reports on planned integration is favorable, particularly if the effects of school integration and implementation "difficulties" are filtered out.

Not only is integration as effective as, or more effective than, any other public school program on which there is data from a broad range of cases, but it is highly cost-effective compared to professional programs of compensatory or "innovative" education. Even if major busing is required, as it would be in most urban areas because of the housing patterns, the financial costs of integration are low compared to even minimum changes in staffing and facilities.

These advantages are real, but they are also illusory. The record of achievement of school integration in urban areas is poor, and that of classroom integration is worse. Public support for integration has passed its zenith in the black community, and probably also in the white community. As confrontation politics increases in the early 1970s, support for integration will further diminish. The prospects of a nationwide swing to integrated schooling in urban areas appears to be highly unlikely in the next few years.

Moreover, integration as described by the Racial Isolation Report is not enough. Cultural transactions based solely on white middle class values have been called into question not only by the minorities, but also by many whites. The dynamics of value changes make the expected effects of integration much harder to foresee.

Dentler* and others believe that the effects of integration, seen in documents such as the Racial Isolation Report, are the effects of integration without any "preparation." They feel that even under a program of "forced integration," an active program by the school to overcome white racism and general stupidity could result in greater benefits than occur in the situations of naturally integrated situations of the Coleman report. Our impression is that the optimism of their analysis results from viewing the situation as it existed in the mid-1960s rather than as it will probably be in the early 1970s, with heightened conflict and polarization.

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* Robert Dentler, Bernard Mackler, and Mary Ellen Warshauer, The Urban R's: Race Relations as the Problem on Urban Education, Frederick A. Praeger, 1967.

As regards specific academic achievements, integration, even under 1965 conditions, closed considerably less than half the gap between blacks and whites in tests of verbal ability.. Professional programs are proposed for closing the rest of the gap, but the record of such programs is poor, measured against magnitude of this task. Integration may be part of the total package, but it is not obvious what the other parts of the package need to be.

An interesting and potentially important insight into part of the cause of the academic gap is found in a number of research studies.* According to these studies, the Negro accepts his inferior status, particularly his academic status. Thus, it has been shown in many experiments that when the achievement goals set for a Negro are identified as white norms, rather than as black norms, the Negro student will lower his sights and not try to achieve the white norms. In related studies, in which a Negro and white student team had a task to accomplish, the white would nearly always assume the leadership role. When the Negro was more capable in the task and had to correct the white (unknown to either student, the Negro was exposed to additional information on the task), a tense situation normally resulted which was judged as unpleasant by both the white _and_ the Negro student. While it is impossible to estimate what part of the academic deficit of the Negro in the integrated classroom may be due to this "psychological disability," the indications are that it is significant.

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* Irwin Katz, "Factors Influencing Negro Performance in Desegregated Schools," American Psychologist, Vol. 19, (1964), pp. 381-399. Irwin Katz, Desegregation or Integration in Public Schools? The Policy Implications of Research, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., 1967.

To overcome this deficit, some propose "assertiveness" training for the Negro. Clearly, such training is a major component of the current emphasis by Negroes on black power, "black is beautiful," concept, and general black aggressiveness. However, while increased minority aggressiveness may be needed as part of a total package that includes integration it is extremely unrealistic to expect the implementation of a package containing both integration and black power components in the early 1970s.

In the introduction of this section, the goal of integration was first defined as: a quality of a society in which individuals and institutions work together in a harmonious and mutually supporting manner. From this viewpoint, integration is clearly important to the society as whole, and to the members of the society individually. The second definition (for the United States) spoke of integration in terms of a pluralistic society in which every individual has freedom for economic, residential, and social mobility unlimited by one's race, creed, or parent's social position. This statement is cast in terms of creating a mental image to bring the underprivileged into fuller participation in the society.

Yet, not until the "goal" of integration is perceived by those who have the power to reach that "goal", as resulting in more advantages than disadvantages to them, will integration make much progress. To use an economic analogy, classroom commerce in ideas and feelings between races and socioeconomic levels will occur only when each participant recognizes the gain to himself from bringing the other participant with his comparative advantage into the class. To speak of the white middle class child's verbal ability and the black child's "soul" is simplistic but perhaps illustrative. The crucial word is "recognizes." It is irrelevant to state that, based on certain criteria, classroom commerce would be advantageous to all right now, because it is not currently perceived as such by the vast majority. Nor is it obvious that it ever could be, unless many of the present needs, values, and beliefs of the majority change significantly.

## Community Control-Community Participation

"Community control" is the battle cry of not only the militant blacks, but a sizable portion of the black community plus an odd assortment of conservative and radical whites. However, though the situation for which community control is offered as a solution is very current, a more generic view of community control shows that the concept is not limited to the 1960s and 70s, or to dissident minorities.

The concept of community control of the schools, including parents' choice for the education of their children, is deeply rooted in the basic political and educational tradition of this nation. Public schools have supported local diversity between communities exemplified in the difference between school in large eastern cities, in Amish communities, or in the Southern bible belt. Also, within communities, parental choice has led many parents to exercise their option and establish private or parochial schools for their children.

However, other traditions also exist, and America the great "melting pot" is one of these. According to this tradition, different cultural groups bring to this country the rich diversity of their various cultures and take from it a basic heritage whidh includes the ideals of democracy, religious liberty, . . . , and public education.

The basic stance of the public school system is that it is charged with the responsibility of providing children this basic heritage and the technical skills required in the society. In its loftier ideals, the public school may speak of incorporating and making use of the diversity of student backgrounds, but as experienced in the average classroom, diversity is seen as a problem, not as an opportunity. Furthermore, the protestant ministerial tradition out of which the teaching profession has evolved, was not one to consider that part of the "truth" existed with the uneducated child. The teacher was there to teach, the child to learn, and that was that. This tendency was further emphasized by the screening function performed by the schools; the school was used to slot the brightest and best for the ministry or medicine or law, with lower level slots reserved for the progressively less bright and able. Clearly, the child had nothing to tell the teacher about the qualifications for becoming a minister, doctor, or lawyer.

In the rhetoric and the professional literature of education, the school's view of itself has changed. The approach is more child centered and looks to the full development of each child's unique capabilities. To do this, the teacher listens to the child to understand the world in which he lives. However, particularly in ghetto schools, this change is seldom reflected in the classroom.

At present, community control is opposed not only by the image of the "melting pot" but also by the push for national education standards. The middle class highly mobile society (with support from important segments in the educational community) wants to establish national standards and minimum quality for education. The national inequality in education results in restricted educational opportunities for the children in "substandard" areas between communities and limits the mobility of other citizens. Implicit in this movement is the assumption that educational quality is well defined for all children and not just children who "should" be screened into college and the professions. In many areas, the public schools do provide quality education for children of the right socioeconomic background in its academic tracks. However, for the rest of society, quality education is poorly defined. For those not screened for the academic track, quality education does not generally exist. That the situation is worse for minorities in segregated schools should not blind one to the fact that it is poor for all students, a majority of whom are white.

Many educators are appalled at this situation and are trying to correct it. In the case of minority communities which often have both low socioeconomic status and "cultural diversity," many of the members of these communities are coming to believe that the public school as an organization--unless directly controlled by the minorities--will not or cannot listen to the minority community and the students and hear their needs and then meet their needs. Even the radical elements in the minority communities ask only that institutions in general and schools in particular should listen to the community as well as dictate to it. This is expressed in the demand for relevant education in contrast to the stereotyped quality education of the academic track from which the majority of blacks and other minorities are screened out. Extremism is created when conditions cause some people to believe that--under present conditions--the development of relevant institutions will require entirely separate black "states."

While these comments can perhaps provide some perspective to the reader, the issues revolving around community control are much too complex for a thorough treatment in this study. For example, decentralization (and consequently more local community control) is seen as a bureaucratic necessity in some cities, in particular, New York City.* All parties agree that a larger amount of decentralization is required. However, some see decentralization as a management efficiency issue rather than as a power issue. In another dimension, however, community control (Black Power and Brown Power, to use the more emotionally laden terms) is seen as the enemy of integration and the "melting pot." Advocates of integration point out that at present, most of the people in minority communities want integration. However, their case is greatly weakened by the fact that the society in general is unclear on what constitutes integration. Does it mean sameness, or cultural plurality? How does it relate to the isolation of individuals in our urban society? Is there a need for more interconnectedness, and how is this to be achieved? More specifically, how important is classroom integration to quality education, to relevant education, to an integrated society?

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* However, the nature and size of the bureaucracy and the environment it faces is more important than the number of pupils. In 1930, the New York City school system had approximately the same number of pupils and was rated as one of the best school systems in the country.

While society cannot now answer these questions, most minority parents would still take the previously described pale, partial ameliorative of classroom integration, if it were available. However, it is equally clear that without a "white revolution" over the next decade, this option will not be offered to a majority of blacks and browns in the largest cities of this country. The question is therefore: what can be, what should be done? One answer is summed up in the statement of David Spenser, a veteran of the IS-201 Wars in New York City, "Nobody from outside is going to tell us what kind of segregated schools we're going to have."* The next section analyzes some of the possibilities for cities in which this answer is put into practice. The following section looks at community participation--a separate but related program.

Community control and community participation are two different ways of relating the school to the local community and the local community to the school. Community control starts at the top and places the power of the school board in the hands of the local community. Community participation starts at the bottom and joins the school and the community at the working level, with change coming through shared experiences and administrator/teacher and parent/community member interactions.

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* From New Republic, January 13, 1968, "Community Control of Our Schools" by Joseph Featherstone.

### Community Control

The definition that will be used for community control is that the school board is elected by the community.

Community is a much overworked word in the current literature. However, to the extent that it still has meaning, the term community control means more than local control. This added something is perhaps best summed up in the phrase "a sense of community," which connotes some unity or central thrust of values, attitudes, goals, and desirable actions. It supports the creation of a modus vivendi for educational and community change. Without a sense of community, the effect of the average citizen diminishes, and the influence of pressure or special interest groups increases. The extent to which school attendance boundaries enclose people with a "sense of community" is a crucial variable and varies from situation to situation.

For purposes of discussion, it will be assumed that:

1. There is a "sense of community" and that the school board is responsive to it.
2. A rough idea of the "task" is shared by most members of the board and the community at large.*
3. The board is not immobilized by internal dissension or lack of purpose.
4. If the community school board came into existence under a decentralization plan, it would be as fully autonomous as any school board can be, under present state educational laws, employee unions, and the current set of institutions to provide teachers, equipment, books, and materials.

Based upon these optimistic assumptions, the question is what can the community school board do, i.e., what are its range of feasible alternatives, and what will be the effect of these alternatives if they are tried. In practice, the feasible alternatives are more like vague possibilities. However, some outcomes are more likely than others. Three "sure" outcomes are:

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* The requirements for this situation will be further discussed under community participation.

1. More community control will cause a reduction in the scale of the educational bureaucracy. There is general agreement that for a bureaucracy of the size that exists in New York City decentralization is mandatory from either the white or the black point of view, and from either the educators' or taxpayers' point of view. The school bureaucracy may be able to respond to needs of the overall system or to multimillion dollar grants but the special needs of P.S. XX and its special requests for $5-20,000 are seldom if ever responded to, except with long deadening delays. A reduction in scale will not assure a responsive administration but at least a response will be more physically possible than in the present case.

2. In minority communities, the result of community control will be a minority "Board of Directors" of a $10-50 million per year corporation plus the existential assertion that minority persons can be educated and are able to set educational policy for educators.

   To the degree that minority students fail in school because of a lack of ego strength, a feeling of powerlessness, and an inability to see how they control their own future, the assumption of power by the black community can provide "success" models. It is obvious that the community in general strongly desires more such models, and the effect upon education must be positive though of variable magnitude.

3. With the control of the schools under a black school board, there will be a strong tendency for teachers and administrators who are personally racist, overbearing, or patronizing of minorities to leave on their own initiative.* Also, expectations of teachers and administrators on the "way the system operates" will change and result in less institutional racism.

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* Unfortunately, while the number of schools under minority community control is very small, they may be selected by a wide assortment of "oddballs" as the place to work out their own personal problems. However, as the number of minority community-controlled schools grows, this will become less and less of a problem because the oddballs will become more scattered.

> These effects will be automatic, though presumably they will be enhanced by positive policies and actions of the school board and its superintendent.

Actually, the task of providing relevant educational experiences for minority children falls squarely upon the superintendent that the community board of education selects. Presumably, the superintendent will have been selected because he is already "attuned" to the needs of the community, but this must be transformed into specific policies and actions as he charts his course and builds his educational team. How will he reorient the district, how will he recruit and select new teachers? What type of inducements can he use to attract good teachers, white and black? How will he upgrade the existing staff? What educational innovations or philosophies does he favor? How effectively can he lead the staff and communicate with the neighborhood? These questions cannot be answered in general. These same questions are faced in the "community" schools in the suburbs without much more success than is currently achieved in city schools if socioeconomic status of the school system is held constant.

It is hoped that community control will result in the selection of superintendents and assistant superintendents who are more imaginative and better attuned to local needs. This would seem to be particularly likely if the boards seek men of leadership ability, with less emphasis on their academic credentials. However, there are many forces that could tend to make the new neighborhood schools no more capable or imaginative than the overall city schools which they replaced. For example, the types of credentials that local black schools may look upon with the greatest favor may be no different than the credentials that the overall city school board will normally look at. Moreover, state regulations and educational requirements limit the "legal" range of alternatives. In the financial area, the amount of operating funds and construction and renovation monies will be outside the local board's control or seriously constrained. Few community schools will have unlimited resources and a "free hand." These and other limitations will limit the effectiveness of community control. Nevertheless, the turning of the local subdistrict over to the community is probably the only way that schools in black districts will be able to recover what, stretching a word, might be called their legitimacy; there are parts of many cities in which the schools are almost totally discredited as public institutions.

An outstanding example of "positive" community control is Morgan Community School in northwest Washington, D.C. for pupils from kindergarten through sixth grade. This school, despite a gray, barrack-like exterior and shabby, limited interior, is off to a resounding success, both academically and socially. This school, with 98 percent of its 750 pupils Negro, was turned over in May 1967 to a local board of parents and teachers.

The board was given the power to hire and fire teachers; draw up the school budget; and decide the curriculum. Subsequently, they agreed to try a new way of teaching, i.e., ungraded classes and individualized instruction. Besides professional teachers, 25 "community interns" or teacher's aides administer the "new" educational approach. This innovative approach includes having "teams" instead of grades, thus, team 1 consists of 5-7 year olds; team 2 consists of 6-8 year olds, etc., the higher numbered teams (third to sixth graders) being somewhat more structured.

Each team has teachers who concentrate in English, arithmetic, history, etc., teaching their subject to specific children at specific times. However, besides these definite required courses, the students are pretty much on their own in the classroom. In short, the children occupy their time in the classroom with whatever interests them, i.e., "they do their own thing." The result? Last year, after only a year's operation, "in a city-wide examination administered in Washington's 176 schools, Morgan Community School was one of six that registered a significant improvement in reading."* This fact was impressive enough to the "downtown" Washington, D.C. schoolboard that they are now extending this approach of quality education to two more predominantly Negro schools in that area.

However, a visit to the Morgan school quickly convinces one that more is involved than just community control. The principal is Kenneth Haskin, a truly impressive person. Certainly, community control has done much for the school but given its turbulent start,† it is clear that Haskins has been, and perhaps will be, an indispensable part of what the Morgan school is, and can become. Unfortunately, the supply of such men, black or white, is limited and after path-breaking activities, the "more usual" administrators must also be able to succeed in relating the school and the community if the concept is to have much practical importance.

One can also speculate on some other, less directly educational effect that might occur. If the community school board looks upon the school not only as an educational establishment, but also as a corporation working for the benefit of the community and controlling a budget of $10 to 50 million, then it could conceivably wield this economic power with considerable influence for the community in noneducational matters. For example, it could require black contractors and black workers on all construction, rehabilitation, and maintenance programs on schools within jurisdiction. It could bring civil suits against the city housing authority or welfare establishment, or public works departments on the basis that a specific failure or inadequate program was adversely affecting the educational accomplishments of the students living within its districts. Such actions would hasten the redistribution of power within the cities between the white establishment and the new middle class black establishments. If activists were adequately supported by the neighborhood from which they were elected, and if decentralization plans provided (or the leaders could take) this amount of autonomy and flexibility from the citywide Board of Education, then the noneducational impacts upon the community could be considerable--perhaps too considerable for the white establishment to take if action was initiated at a rapid rate.

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* Michaelson, George, "Happiness Is Doing Your Own Thing," Parade Magazine, March 30, 1969.

† Lauter, Paul, "The Short Happy Life of the Adams-Morgan Community School Project," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Spring 1968).

This growth of political activity in the minority communities would certainly lead to greater sensitivity to their demands by city hall.* It would provide a training ground for new black state legislators and black Congressmen, not that other alternatives do not exist, but that it would accelerate the entire process.

Greater economic and political power might break the segregation in some craft unions and accelerate integration in others or make possible the establishment of successful competitive black craft unions. This could change the black students' perception of the reward from high school and junior college vocational work. In a school attuned to their needs, in a society which offers them greater rewards for becoming educated than it does at present,† it is highly probable that more learning will take place in the schools. These favorable circumstances are far from assured and rest upon satisfactory outcomes at many points in the educational change process. To an extent, it may be assumed that the teachers and administrators in the community-run schools, and their organizational structures are superior to those in even the best surburban schools.

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* This implies politicizing the schools, but when needs, values, and attitudes are not commonly held, the issue is political--it cannot be otherwise. The professional, the technician can use his expertise only after the political value issues have been decided, which they are not in our urban areas in 1969.

† In the 1960 U.S. Census, for equal level of academic achievement and occupational category, blacks generally receive only 60 to 70 percent of the salary of whites.

However, other viable options hardly exist for the segregated school which the white society appears unable or unwilling to eliminate for more than a small fraction of the minority groups in the large cities of the country.

### Parent and Community Involvement

The schools have always recognized the importance of parent and community involvement--as long as this is in the form of aiding the school to interpret its mission of educating the child. The home, according to school authorities, should supply the child with appropriate preschool language experiences; a respect for adults; and high standards of neatness and cleanliness. For the older child, the importance of doing one's best in school should be stressed; help should be given with homework; and a suitable place should be provided for studying. In addition, the local P.T.A. should be supported as well as all school bond and tax increase elections.

Parent and community involvement that tends to fit the above description exists in many school districts, of which most, but by no means all are white middle class. These districts are almost invariably rated very highly by educational evaluators. Furthermore, within "disadvantaged" schools, Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title I projects which involve parents have been among the most successful educational programs. This is not surprising, because the existence of this type of parent and community involvement implies a shared set of goals, beliefs, and values between the home and school, and an acceptance and support by the home of the school's professional expertise on how to educate a child.

In contrast, the very fact that community control is an issue in many minority communities is a dramatic statement of the community's lack of acceptance of its school as currently operated. Given the conflicts between urban schools and minority groups, parent-community involvement has become a two-way street.

Many minority parents and communities are no longer passively accepting (and just as passively forgetting) the school's list of their educational responsibilities, but are actively attempting to change the "racist" school establishment. Few schools are prepared for this type of parent and community involvement. "For teachers and administrators in an increasing number of urban schools, parent participation conjures up images of angry slum parents, usually black, issuing accusatory pronunciamentos disrupting the decor of school meetings, and even storming into the schools during class time with one or another set of demands arrived at without any apparent systematic study of the real issues. In some of the cities where such groups have emerged, their mood, their demands, and their tactics seem to many professionals to have much more to do with black power [a non "educational" issue to most educators] than with a difficult task of teaching apparently disadvantaged and disengaged, if not overtly hostile children."*

It is a mistake to dismiss this type of problem with the wave of one's hand and the statement that once the schools are under community control, this type of problem will cease to exist. In fact, it appears that in the absence of some dramatic increase in educational quality, parents' actions of this type might increase rather than decrease with community control. The problems that have surrounded the running of the experimental community schools associated with IS 201 in

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* Bloomburg, Warner Jr., and John Kincaid, The Urban Review, June 1968, Vol. II, No. 7, "Parent Participation: Practical Policy or Another Panacea?"

New York City, though not of exactly this nature, indicate that merely turning over the school subdistrict to the local community will not result in peace and harmony. Where power and the transfers of power are objectives, continuing conflicts can be expected. In the early discussion of community control, a key assumption was that "a sense of community" existed. It was the key because it swept under the rug the very conflicts which are likely to occur with extremely debilitating consequences for the community and school (at least in the short run until a synthesis occurs and a sense of community develops). In studying the achievements of community schools, Bloomberg and Kincaid found that "The results as we have been able to assess them from our own experience and published and fugitive reports from elsewhere indicated a very mixed picture. Real gains seem to result in some schools, little or none in others; we have no indication that ghetto schools have been made worse by such efforts, but this may only indicate that many of them have been at or near rock bottom to start with."

In their own work with communities in Racine, Wisconsin, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, they found that many months of work with at least moderate staff resources were able only to begin to develop groups of parents who were capable and willing to play a significant role in making the minority sdhool more effective. Their first problem, and one that is continually repeated by others in nearly all descriptions of programs for community action, was that initially no community truly existed.

As Bloomberg and Kincaid attempted to aid the community to put educational issues into a community context, they found that parents were concerned only with problems relating to their own children, and were unable to think in terms of institutional and systematic issues. When this problem had been overcome and parents started to phrase problems in these terms, teachers and administrators reacted angrily to the "put-up job in which hostile parents were being used as ventriloquists' dummies mouthing unfair criticisms concocted by university-based outsiders who had come into the system that year camouflaged as friends of the system. Only a small minority of teachers welcomed this form of parental interest and involvement, and were not put off by having to confront groups of residents who had prepared, in advance, understanding that only in this way could discussion not be weighted heavily and unfairly in favor of the teacher."* Furthermore . . . "it then turned out that many teachers were more compulsively committed than the parents to viewing all educational problems in terms of individual classroom conduct rather than in terms of institutional and systematic issues."*

To analyze the effectiveness of community and parent involvement, Bloomberg and Kincaid developed four dimensions along which to measure programs encouraging parent and community involvement in attempting to change the school as well as the parents and community: (1) the kind of understanding and skill that can be developed among organized residents; (2) the resources and capacity for persistence that they can develop and maintain; (3) the receptiveness or refractoriness of teachers and administrators through efforts by parents to engage in what amount to systematic evaluations of the staffs' sole domain; and (4) the extent to which decision-making can affect the underlying causes of education problems in the ghetto. Each of these represents a major obstacle to substantial success for parent participation movements and projects measuring success by improvements in the actual education of the children and youth in the areas.

This type of active, knowledgeable community participation that Bloomberg and Kincaid's projects attempted to create requires an active and highly motivated organizing agent. And it is not clear where the agent would come from and who would fund him. Perhaps the Community Action Program would take this role in some areas; however, to date local CAPs have mainly invested their resources in other issues. Can the school itself assume this role? It is unrealistic to believe that considering the trouble the school might encounter and the competing uses for funds, many community schools would allocate more than token resources to such projects.

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* Bloomberg and Kincaid, op.cit., p. 12.

In the long run, there is some doubt as to the nature of the forces that would support a high level of community participation. J. M. Stephens[*] argues that the community typically relegates skills of low or immediate survival value to be taught by schools. One might conjecture that the present high level of parental interest in schooling will continue only as long as its importance to the survival of the child is high, and the capacity of the school to meet the needs of the child is in doubt. In this view, parent participation of the type that has been discussed would only be needed to transform the present school system. Once minority community and school beliefs, values, and attitudes become consistent (and the community believes that the school is performing a professional job), perhaps the only parent involvement required is support of the school (until the next "political" issue arises). The tenants of academic freedom and professionalism suggest that this is a good course.

Nevertheless, another middle course is being created. The school is being opened up to the community by programs that put paraprofessionals from the community in the schools (e.g., New Careers), and by after-school study centers or tutorials that use high school students in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. In addition, more and more educators are moving away from the idea of the school as a cloistered institution separate from the society, to a concept of the school in the community. With the increasing demands for lifelong learning and the creative use of leisure, the schools have a major and expanding function in the community. However, these benefits will not be possible in the future until the real agonies of minority education at present are corrected. Thus, it is certain that the community school will face emotional and perhaps physical violence in the days to come.

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[*] Stephens, J. M., The Process of Schooling, A Psychological Examination, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967.

# IV INNOVATIVE CONSTRUCTION ALTERNATIVES

The two innovative construction approaches under study are: (1) education parks, and (2) mini-schools. Political considerations and the innovative programs of the stakeholders have been analyzed in general. Now, we turn to the specific construction issues. To be sure, one cannot completely block out the "other issues" but the focus is upon the specifics of construction programs under consideration and their educational effects.

Before discussing these two innovative concepts, however, the neighborhood schools need to be touched upon. "Neighborhood schools" have a powerful image. They are a symbol of stability amid change and are viewed as good by those for whom the present education system is quite satisfactory. Although specific neighborhood schools may have highly innovative facilities, the general image is not innovative. In the context of a construction analysis, the term "neighborhood schools" is used to designate schools which are on the same scale as in the past, e.g., elementary schools of 400-700 students. Some new neighborhood school will be innovative in other characteristics, such as professional programs, and presumably would be. These other innovations have been covered in Chapter III.

The education parks and mini-schools, because each has a special image or even mystique, that motivates their advocators, require a special approach. That is, since this image could easily become more important than actual characteristics in determining the support for an alternative, we believe it important to present each image through the viewpoints of their advocators. The characteristics of education parks and mini-schools described under the title of Image come from unevaluated proposals for each approach. Our analysis and comments are found in the Implementation sections for the alternatives.

## Education Parks

### An Image

At the root of the education park image lies the belief that the consolidation of thousands of students and hundreds of teachers into one school facilitates the economical provision of quality education; the elimination of de facto school segregation; and the development of new relationships between school and community. This concept can be traced back to 1901, when Preston Search, then the Superintendent of Schools of Los Angeles, advocated "school parks" which were to provide education in a healthy rural environment; a locus of educational innovation; and all the functions of a community. However, with the exception of several isolated cases of consolidated "park" systems, none were developed during the first two-thirds of this century.

Contemporary conditions have aroused renewed interest in educational parks. These conditions include: the obsolescence of existing school facilities; the development of new technology, teaching methods, and curricula; the need to find acceptable solutions to racial segregation; and the demands of many parents and communities for improved public education. Beleaguered planners, educators, and politicians have sought new ways to revive the depressed areas of their cities, and have come to realize that integrated planning of schools and other institutions is necessary for balanced local and regional development. Moreover, there has been a growing trend toward facility centralization for the sake of economy, efficiency, and convenience in several areas of activity. Thus, the proposed education parks probably owe as much to modern industrial parks as they do to Preston Search's 1901 vision.

The education park would usually consist of from 5,000 to 20,000 students, drawn from a number of neighborhoods. In some towns and small cities, one park of this size could accommodate the entire student body. However, in large urban areas this constitutes just a fraction of the school-age population. Park proposals vary on grade level coverage; some extend from pre-kindergarten to junior college, while others contain only elementary or middle, or high school classes, with varying combinations of pre-school, adult, and special-technical programs.

Several aspects of the park, including its size, its physical design, and its newness, are expected to facilitate the provision of high quality education more economically than that afforded by smaller, neighborhood schools. Addressing themselves to the question of what can be done educationally in a high school complex of 3,000-5,000 students that cannot be done in a school of 1,800, a San Jose proposal concluded that the former could support specialized academic, commercial, technical, and vocational courses, as well as programs for the handicapped and the gifted, that would be excessively costly and under-utilized in existing high schools.* However, it is in the area of physical facilities even more than in courses that the principle of maximum utilization and avoidance of duplication achieves its greatest impact. By having one specialized facility rather than several at different locations, an education park would provide savings that can be used for better equipped auditoriums, cafeterias, language and science laboratories, libraries, and athletic, recreational, and health facilities. It also would make economical the creation of specialized libraries, and TV and computer installations for instruction, administration, and information retrieval.

Parks that would include a wide range of grade levels would have special advantages in the vertical integration of instruction. At an early age, the student can be exposed to many branches of education and be motivated to pursue his education more vigorously. Transitions between elementary, middle, and high school grades would be less abrupt. An individual student can advance in those fields where he is proficient and receive extra instruction in those where he is not. Such special programs as using older pupils to tutor younger and slower ones also would be facilitated by having all the grades on-site.

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* East San Jose Educational Park Study. Report of the Blue Ribbon Advisory Committee, April 26, 1968.

In dense urban areas, land requirements usually are to be in the 60-100 acre range depending on availability, size, and use of air rights and high rise buildings; whereas Nova Educational Park in Fort Lauderdale, Florida (the only currently operating educational park) sits on a 545 acre site. Generally, the parks are to be subdivided into smaller units, all of which would share the core facilities, housing the administration and recreational, cultural, social, and special educational activities.

The physical structures of the new education parks are to be designed to take advantage of new technology and new teaching methods. Movable walls, sound-proofing, special cubicles, and other design features permit the flexibility necessary for individualized learning, computer aided instruction, closed circuit TV, classes of various sizes, and team teaching. Many of the proposed parks would run on a schedule of 8-9 hours per day for 12 months of the year (the Nova Educational Park is running on this schedule) instead of the traditional 6 hour day for nine or ten months each year. With flexible scheduling, it becomes possible for students to enter and leave at different times, and thus be able to accommodate outside jobs and family needs. This would allow maximal utilization of classrooms, computers, and other facilities, as well as the establishment of special programs. For instance, one Baltimore education park plan for kindergarten through ninth grade levels (to be located in an urban renewal area near the center of the city) includes a full day care program for the children of working mothers.

Good teaching is a goal of the education park's design. The large schools are expected to attract teachers with varied skills and experience, as well as broadly representative ethnic backgrounds. Vertical integration would offer them a variety of teaching opportunities at different levels. Some of the park proposals include special cubicles for teachers, faculty seminar rooms, staff libraries, and on-site teacher training facilities in order to consolidate the benefits of new technology, physical facilities, curricula, and teaching techniques.

Education parks are seen by their advocators as the most economical means of supplying such special features as maximal utilization of facilities and elimination of the duplication of facilities that occurs in a small-school system. These economies of scale also apply to heating, maintenance, food services, and certain administrative expenses. In general, park planners hope that the economies of scale afforded by the construction of one large facility instead of numerous smaller ones would finance the addition of special facilities. Thus, in the final analysis, while the park probably would not cost less per child, it would provide considerably more for the money.

Nevertheless, many park planners recognize that size may be a drawback as well as an advantage. The system's sheer size could overwhelm children particularly small ones, and create for all (children, teachers, and officials) frustrating administrative complexities and bureaucratic entanglements. They hope to overcome these hazards by subdividing the parks into smaller units. A Berkeley, California, proposal,* for example, would establish within the larger education park small "units" of 125-150 primary school children and 200 middle school children. The park total of 4,750 high school students would be divided into two units. Comparable figures for a larger city might be 200-250 for elementary school,

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* "Integrated Quality Education, A Study of Educational Parks and Other Alternatives for Urban Needs", Berkeley Unified School District, Berkeley, Calif., July 1968.

250-600 for middle or junior high, and about 1,500-2,000 for high school. According to the proposals, administrative decentralization and the granting of extensive authority to the unit or subschools would combat any tendency for over-bureaucratization.

The park is acclaimed by many not only for its educational advantages, but for its possible social function as well. In a 1967 study of 54 current park developments plans conducted by the Center for Urban Education, the most frequently cited reason for the establishment of an education park is desegregation. According to the study, a properly located, large school will draw its student body from a number of white and black neighborhoods, thereby replacing segregated local schools. Typical park plans specify a student body mix of no more than 70 percent white or black for the facility to be considered integrated. The concomitant heterogeneous teaching and administrative staff as well as student body would eliminate the inequalities that currently exist between new, well-equipped schools and old, rundown ones. Some of the park supporters, notably Max Wolff of the Center for Urban Studies, maintain that the education park can help halt and even reverse the flight of middle-class whites to the suburbs by providing them with superior educational facilities in the city.

The relationships between the park and larger community are a focus of concern for planners, particularly in urban areas where many parents feel isolated from the school system; hostile toward its administrators; and frustrated by its cumbersome bureaucracy. The park advocators are aware that because of its size and distance from many of the neighborhoods it will serve, the education park could prove to be a barrier to effective parental participation. Consequently, some areas plan to "involve" the community and thus overcome this barrier by hiring parents to be teacher aides or liaisons with the community, or to fill other "New Careers" positions. Moreover, the services planned for the park include recreational and cultural facilities, possibly adult education programs, day care facilities, and health and counseling services--all to be available for community use.

In fact, its advocates claim the education park could serve as a unifying community center in a changing, poorly serviced neighborhood; it could bridge a gap between a wealthy white suburb and a nearby black urban ghetto; it could be part of comprehensive renewal activities in the inner city. It could be affiliated with a large city university; it could coordinate some of its activities with nearby industry and business firms in the joint training of personnel and the provision of technical education and work experience. Finally, the education park could serve as a physical symbol of the community and a point of identification for its inhabitants.

### Summary of Advantages Claimed

The advocates provide the following reasons in their proposals for the establishment of education parks:

1. Desegregation and the achievement of socioeconomic and racial balance in enrollment.
2. Consolidation of small and/or rural schools.
3. Economic advantage of an educational complex over separate neighborhood schools.
4. Improved quality of education via modern teaching techniques and application of modern technology.
5. Redevelopment of obsolete school plants.
6. Stimulus to regional development.
7. Curb "educational flight" from central cities to suburbs and revitalize depressed urban areas.
8. Attract better teachers.

## Implementation of Education Parks

While the image of education parks is important, the realities that must be faced in the implementation are equally important. Unfortunately, despite many proposals, there are no operating education parks in any major city. The only city that has an education park (according to our definition) is Fort Lauderdale, Florida--an example that is not applicable to major cities. Therefore, the analysis will be of the proposal and implementation process itself.

At least initial steps to creat education parks have been taken by a number of cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and some smaller cities such as Berkeley, California and East Orange, New Jersey. Pittsburgh was one of the first to advocate "education parks" and has had as much experience as any major city.

In 1963, under the leadership of S. P. Marland, Jr., then Superintendent of the Pittsburgh School Districts, Pittsburgh started to develop the great high school concept, which many consider to be the starting point for the current interest in education parks. This proposal called for five great high schools in Pittsburgh of approximately 5,000 students each, and these schools were to serve the entire senior high school population of Pittsburgh. The first of the five great high schools is currently scheduled for completion in 1971. These schools represented the immediate objectives of the proposal. However, it was envisioned that eventually the junior high schools (which would expand into the vacated senior high schools) would be connected to the great high schools through green belts, and still later, the elementary schools would also be tied in.

The architectural, city planning, and transportation characteristics of these great high schools have won much acclaim in professional journals and meetings. The following discussion of the goals and the control of the proposal implementation process is the condensation of (1) articles written by Mr. Marland, (2) an article in the Wall Street Journal based on interviews with members of the school board and school district staff (in 1966), and (3) recent conversations with a white civic leader and supporter of the education park concept, a leading member of the Pittsburgh Poverty Organization, and a leading member of a moderate Pittsburgh Civic Rights group. In sum, the intent here is to look at some of the issues that arose in the implementation of an education park concept in a particular city.

Goals. There has been little dispute over the fact that Pittsburgh needs new senior high school construction (or at least, extensive remodeling). The last senior high school was built in the early 1930s, and over the ensuing years, a number of these facilities have become outmoded and inadequate. This required that the school district take some action on new senior high construction, but as we shall see, its goals were considerably more than just rebuilding the senior high school.

Pittsburgh, like most other major cities, was experiencing in 1963, and is still experiencing an outflow of white parents to the suburbs and an increasing percentage of minority children, particularly Negroes, in its schools. The school board and the superintendent designated the white exodus as the crucial problem that the district needed to face and solve. In the words of William H. Rea (the school board president in 1966): "I don't know if the schools can solve this problem (i.e., the citizens fleeing to the suburbs). But if it cannot be solved, I don't see any future for our urban centers."* The district chose to attack this problem by creating excellence in the city's schools. In the words of Mr. Marland:

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* Quoted in Robert L. Bartley: "Pittsburgh Attacks City School Problem," The Wall Street Journal, June 17, 1966.

"By having excellence first, you will have the whites."* Therefore, the district sought to project to white parents the image of the great high schools as places of educational excellence.

The integration that would occur in an education park was obvious to all, but it was soft-pedaled in descriptions of the great high schools. The school districts' "cautious" stance on integration can be seen in their booklet, "The Quest for Racial Equality," which describes the requirement of integration "as a sudden and jarring extension of a job of the schools." The literature opposes compulsory busing or quotas and stresses education improvements and the projected great high schools. Indeed, in the spring of 1966, the NAACP picketed the school's administration building for three days to urge the compulsory busing of students to guarantee that every school would come close to the citywide ratio of white Negro students.

A secondary objective of the great high schools was to act as an agent for the renewal of the City of Pittsburgh. Mr. Marland stated that the great high school concept "endeavors to create by its very being a new and larger subcommunity, complete with varied housing, commerce, public and private institutions, government services, and recreational and cultural facilities, all loosely related to each other at least by physical articulation and proximity. It reaches the community-school ideal as central to the subcommunity it serves."* This secondary objective is clearly supportive of the overall attempt to reverse the white exodus to the suburbs.

Control. An important question in the implementation of the great high school concept is how the school board and school district personnel related to the community which they sought to serve, and change. In the words of the Wall Street Journal report in 1966: "They are proceeding on a carefully chartered course, reflecting both aggressive and professional leadership and a school board unusually well insulated from the heart of reality of urban politics". In the words of Mr. Marland (speaking of the school board): "They are completely without political arrangement, which I think is important. They can face an issue on its merits without regard to the political bias of the constituency they may represent". A different perspective is provided by Kenneth Eskey, the educational writer for the Pittsburgh Press. He wrote that the board "tends to be somewhat remote from the men and women who send their children to the public schools." The independence or isolation of the board from municipal politics is made possible by the fact that the Pittsburgh school board has no budgetary ties to the city hall. Its members are elected by the 11 judges of the local court of common pleas.

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* S. P. Marland, Jr., "The Education Park Concept in Pittsburgh," Phi Delta Kappan, March, 1967, p. 329.

In 1968 a leading member of the poverty program in Pittsburgh said that the school board does not really like to have citizens involved in planning. A leading member of a moderate civil rights organization stated that the development of the concept of the great high schools "has been limited to the so-called professional educator, to the exclusion of the black community. Now what they will do is come out and give you information, but that's about all. For example, people will raise questions on social problems such as busing problems but no one will listen to the blacks as to where the schools should go to lessen such social problems." Consequently, the picture is one of control and power being firmly in the hands of the school board and the superintendent of schools, and the collective consultants and school planning organizations they hire.

Problems. Because of its goals and the power firmly in control of the school district to implement it, the great high school concept managed to win voter approval of a $50 million bond issue to partially support land acquisition and construction costs. However, a number of problems began to plague the school board. For example:

- In the early 1970s, the projected racial balance in the great high schools, when they were to open, was to be 70 percent white, 30 percent black. However, by 1968 the elementary schools in Pittsburgh were already 40-45 percent black, and great scepticism was voiced as to the school district's ability to even obtain this ratio of white to black in the great high schools by the time they were actually available. The general belief among blacks was, "The school district can't keep the city from going black." Thus, it was questionable that the programs of the school district even if optimal (which few considered them to be) had any chance of achieving the principal objective.
- With respect to the goal of urban renewal, land was purchased for the great high schools in white or white-fringe areas. These sites were not located in the city areas that were in the greatest need of renewal, and were not conveniently located to the Negro communities that were in the greatest need of the services (public, recreational, cultural...). Nor did the location of these sites support the school-community ideal, at least for the Negro subcommunity and the school. It appears that school location was based upon the desire to accommodate white parents, thereby greatly reducing the value of the great high schools to the Negro communities. Of course, as long as the goal of the great high schools was defined as halting the white exodus, the needs and actions of the Negro community were of secondary importance.
- By 1968 the isolation of the school board from the harsh realities of metropolitan politcs seemed to have been broken

or at least dented. Many loud voices were raised that the entire school board should be removed and that the manner of selecting the school board should be changed. In November 1968, citywide meetings were held to discuss the school board, its composition, and its selection, with the aim of presenting new proposals to the voters in January, 1969. From all appearances, it is fairly evident that in the future, the school board and school district superintendent will be less independent and unaffected by the community, even if the present method of selection is not changed.

- The whole strategy of creating a massive 5,000 student integrated facility at this time in our history is questioned. It is pointed out that on the north side of Pittsburgh, there is a high school with the proposed ideal racial balance, but that this high school had known nothing but racial problems and tensions as of 1968. Consequently, the prospects of creating a facility three or four times its size with this racial balance would appear to be highly venturesome until the school district learns how to cope with the problems in its present size of integrated schools.
- Questions were also raised on whether the high school level was the appropriate level at which to start integration. At the lower grade levels, Pittsburgh does have compensatory education, but this program is judged ineffective (by the blacks), and does not result in an appreciable modification of the achievement level of the blacks. The integration of blacks and whites according to the Pittsburgh plan would occur at the senior high school level, by which time the average black would have a considerable academic deficiency compared to the average white, providing a poor basis for integration.

- Related to the unequal academic preparation of blacks and whites by the time they reached the great high schools was the whole question of grouping within the school. In 1966, Mr. Marland stated that the school would be built around 35 to 40 student advisory groups which would be a composite of both a racial and a grade level. This advisory grouping was conceived to be something more than the typical home-room arrangement found in most schools. A student would enter a particular group as a freshman and stay with it until he graduated in the twelfth grade. Thus (assuming a stable school population) longer term contacts would develop between teacher and students and between students and students. However, except for this advisory group, typical homogeneous grouping of students would be maintained or perhaps accentuated. While the details of academic policy were to be left vague until the school neared operational readiness (an interesting tactic to achieve educational excellence), it is clear that the program proposed to the white parents was for many specialized and advanced courses to meet the particular capabilities and interests of their children. Reference to specialized courses were not to superior remedial reading programs but rather to "specialized small attendance courses such as Mandarin Chinese and computer programming which were at least as exotic as those in suburban schools." With the initial academic inequality of the white and black students, it is obvious that at the classroom level, the great high school would be mostly segregated. Furthermore, the members of the black community who were spoken to in 1968 seemed to feel that even the integration at the advisory group level was somewhat nebulous and more in the area of a possible idea rather than a firm commitment on the part of the school district.

The approach to academic excellence would clearly benefit those students who were already best prepared. That such an approach may have been the quid pro quo demanded by the white parents for supporting the great high school concept is consistent with the goals of the program.

- Given the location of the high schools in white areas or white-fringe areas, as discussed earlier, it is obvious that most, if not all of the busing would be required for Negro rather than white students. Moreover, some of the Negro communities were to be split in half or in thirds and parceled out to different great high schools. This caused resentment in the Negro community, and was mentioned by both black and white leaders. It was also pointed out that busing would effectively eliminate many Negro students from extracurricular activities, or would impose a financial burden upon the children of welfare parents in the event that public transportation had to be taken, either because the school bus was missed or because an extracurricular activity was attended.
- Despite the many complaints and reservations that the black community had about the great high school concept as of 1968, Negroes were not actively opposing it. Indeed, active opposition did not seem to be needed. The white parents in general showed no great enthusiasm for the great high school concept, and financial circumstances made its implementation extremely unlikely unless major sources of additional funding could be obtained. As of 1968 much of the $50 million bond issue had been used for land acquisition, and the remainder

would not build even one great high school. Also, in 1968 the Pittsburgh school district (which has a budget in the range of $50 - 60 million) was running a current operating deficit of about $6 million. Under these conditions, without large scale public support and an enthusiastic school district staff (Mr. Marland had left) the great high school concept will almost certainly never be implemented.

In sum, Pittsburgh developed the great high school concept to provide academic excellence as an inducement for white parents to stop their flight to the suburbs. This plan was evolved and directed toward the white parents by a group isolated enough from the realities of the city so that in 1964 and 1965, it could ignore minority group pressures. The proposal generated enthusiasm among civic leaders and wide acclaim in architectural and educational forums, but it never caught the enthusiasm of the average white parent. Perhaps this was due to the tendency in Pittsburgh toward local ethnic communities because of the city's geography--many hills and valleys that result in many small semi-closed communities within the city.

The result of the orientation of the school district was a number of decisions on location, busing, grouping, types of courses, etc., which were viewed as unfavorable by the black community, and which in fact would serve to limit the value of the great high schools to black students either educationally or socially. Currently, the school board is under considerable fire, and its composition and manner of election may be changed. The superintendent of schools, Mr. Marland, who developed the great high school concept, has left Pittsburgh, and his successor, while officially committed to the continuation of the program, has less enthusiasm for it. Finally, the great high schools would require considerable financial resources beyond a $50 million bond issue which was largely spent on land purchase and these resources appear to have little chance of being made available to the school district.

The probable end of the great high school concept may be just as well, because the conceptualization of the problem was limited by a 1963-1965 frame of reference which appears to have little relevance to the probable urban realities in the early 1970s. However, this is a danger inherent in any massive and consequently drawn-out solution to the highly fluid urban problems. While the great high schools themselves could perhaps prove to be flexible for many educational conditions into the 1980s, and 1990s, it was the initial specification of the goal (stopping the white exodus from the cities) which appeared to be too limited in time and too inflexible for the changing conditions of the cities, and thus the project was doomed. Also, in retrospect, the isolation of the school board appears to be more of a liability than an asset.

## Education Parks in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York City

In the fall of 1966, the Community Research Development (CORDE) Corporation undertook a feasibility study of education parks in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York City. This study was concerned principally with questions such as park location, physical form of the park, transportation, demographic characteristics of the student body, and construction costs. Only the Philadelphia portion of the study dealt with a series of education parks for the entire city; the Baltimore and New York portions dealt with a single education park in each city. Some of the information found in the CORDE study will be summarized to provide a picture of "physical facts" in education park implementation.

In Philadelphia, the basic outlines of the park system to be studied had been set prior to the CORDE study by a small but articulate group, the Philadelphia Committee for Education Parks. The basic proposal was for a system of 20 education parks. Each park was to contain eight elementary schools (kindergarten through fourth grade), four middle schools (fifth through eighth grade), and two four-year high schools that would provide a combined capacity for 15,000 students. Each site required approximately 100 acres. The goals of the parks were typical: quality education, integration, and economy of scale. The criterion for integration was set as no more than 70 percent white or black students, and this limit was to be applied to each grade level but not necessarily to each class.

The CORDE study found that the 100 acre standard site could be reduced to a minimum site standard of 60 acres by the use of roof terrace play areas or structured parking facilities. However, even with this reduction in site area, it was impossible to find enough free land available within Philadelphia in the required areas. Consequently 6,000 to 10,000 families would be forced to move, depending upon which of three location plans was to be selected.

The residential patterns in Philadelphia also presented problems because a majority of the white population live in the northeast section, which is well removed from the center city areas were the maximum Negro concentration is found. Consequently, a major amount of busing of even elementary and middle school students would be required. Children would often have to be bused past the nearest education park to a more distant one to achieve the desired racial balance or balance close to the desired level. A feel for the amount of transportation required can be seen from the fact that the minimum transportation cost of the three location patterns proposed by CORDE was $10,900,000 annually.

CORDE did find some economies of scale in the construction of an education park with facilities comparable to a set of schools built individually on separate sites. The education park construction cost was estimated at approximately $24 million, compared to approximately $28.5 million for the building of separate schools. This difference of $4.5 million could be used to create specialized facilities within the education park. However, this cost comparison must be conditioned by the fact that the education park would make minimum use of the existing education facilities in Philadelphia, while a separate site plan would achieve reductions in cost from the $28.5 million figure by the use of a number of existing schools. Existing schools in reasonable condition could provide up to 50 percent of the capacity needed for the projected 1980 student enrollment. If this 50 percent factor were used in making a comparison of total investment requirements, than the cost of the 20 park system would be $480 million and the separate site system would be $285 million, a difference of $195 million. This is the incremental financial load that would be placed on the city by an education park system if no outside sources of funding were available.

Perhaps the crucial factors that caused the CORDE Corporation to recommend against the education park system for Philadelphia were the projected demographic patterns of the city and the racial balance in the education parks for 1980. "The available public school enrollment projection showed a 68% non-white enrollment by 1980 (when the park system would be in operation). The combined result of the sharp racial characteristics of housing patterns and the enrollment projection is that 16 of the 20 education parks would have 70% or more white or non-white students. In at least 2 parks a non-white percentage would be close to 80%." This was for a park system that was located to achieve the best racial balance and that had a transportation bill in excess of $11 million. The physical problems of population location by economic level, race, and transportation requirements make it impossible to achieve effective integration (classroom majority white or at least split 50-50) in Philadelphia. The CORDE report also stated that it could not find any overwhelming educational advantages for the education park system in Philadelphia, compared to the city's school system. In addition, the report pointed out that while an education park system in general would seem to offer a major opportunity for decentralization and diversity, the proposers of the Philadelphia system wanted to "maintain and enhance educational quality" by making each education park conform to exactly the same standard, thereby losing any such advantage. The implementation of the 20 park system at least on a citywide basis, is currently dormant, if not dead, within the Philadelphia school system.

In New York City, the education park proposal grew out of conflict between the parents in East Central Brooklyn and the City Board of Education. The conflict started when the Board of Education proposed to construct seven schools on scattered sites to alleviate severe overcrowding. However, the parents felt that these schools would do nothing to alleviate de facto segregation in the Brownsville area of East Central Brooklyn and in fact, would result in further school segregation. Thereupon, the parents developed a proposal for the construction of an education park to house a minimum of 15,000 children and serve all of East Central Brooklyn.

In the spring of 1966, the parents obtained an injunction from the New York State Commissioner of Education, to prevent the Board of Education of New York City from proceeding with the construction of the seven schools until the feasibility of their education park plan was studied. During the summer of 1966, the administration developed an alternative school construction proposal for the East Central Brooklyn, which required the construction of two education parks. At this point, the CORDE Corporation was brought in and given the task of comparing the two proposals, determining their merit, and recommending one.
A major issue between the two proposals was the question of what was happening to the racial composition of East Central Brooklyn.

Unfortunately, little information was available, and CORDE reported that based upon the limited data, the indications were that the parents and the school district had both underestimated the total enrollment for 1972. Overall, CORDE was unable to resolve the deadlock of the conflicting assertions of the school district and the parents. CORDE ended its evaluation with the following statement: "Normal school planning is frustrating and often ineffective when there is no unity of purpose among public agencies. Park planning can be disastrous under such conditions, as underlined throughout this report. Yet, East Central Brooklyn had all the conditions for disaster--a lack of precise demographic data, massive housing construction unrelated to total community planning, unchecked blight and deteriorating housing, and a clash of a highway alignment with school sites."

As an alternative to either proposal, the CORDE Corporation put forth the Linear City proposal. This proposal was not just for an education park, but rather a whole complex of facilities linearly stretched out over an existing railroad line plus a new highway, and a mass transit facility to serve the Linear City. This proposal was very imaginative and has received many favorable comments from architectural and city planning sources. At present, the prospects for any type of education park in East Central Brooklyn are quite slim or nonexistent. The New York City Board of Education is giving first priority to a program of decentralization, and in fact Oceanhill-Brownsville, which is part of East Central Brooklyn, has been one of three experimental decentralized districts within New York City.

In Baltimore, the school system itself had taken the initiative in exploring the idea of an education park with no perceptible community pressure, for or against. The school district had the CORDE Corporation study the kinds of educational programs and specialized instruction, for prekindergarten through ninth grade levels, that a park of approximately 6,000 students could offer beyond those available in their smaller scattered schools. In 1966, the Baltimore Superintendent, Dr. Lawrence Pacquin, and his staff were particularly interested in the feasibility of locating a park in the downtown area, closely allied, in terms of planning, with urban renewal activity projected for the vicinity of the Inner Harbor. They had two reasons: first, the need for new schools in and around downtown Baltimore; second, their desire for a strong physical and visual prominent role for the schools in the proposed revitalization of the downtown area. They felt also that new housing for mixed income levels might have the potential to attract more middle class families to the city and the public schools.

The CORDE Corporation found that at approximately the same cost (as a scattered comparison group), an education park for levels pre-kindergarten through ninth grades could be built in downtown Baltimore and provide space for additional physical education facilities, teacher planning facilities, and administrative and health services. Increases were also made in the library (an additional 3,000 square feet) and in the instructional areas (an increase from 28 to 30 square feet per child). CORDE felt that this park, coupled with urban renewal, would fit in quite well with the new community that was planned, and consequently CORDE recommended implementation. However, the superintendent suddenly died, and the new superintendent is engaged in a $130 million renovation and building program for all of the city of Baltimore, and this program does not include any plans for an education park.

## Education Parks in Smaller Cities

A number of smaller cities have made education park proposals. These cities are small enough that all or nearly all of their education requirements can be met within one single park. Two examples are East Orange, New Jersey and Berkeley, California. In East Orange, New Jersey, the plan was that one education park would house the entire school age population of the city, which is quite small, the land area being only 3.9 square miles. Practically no busing would be required. The unique feature of East Orange is that the school population is already 80 percent Negro. Consequently, majority white classrooms were impossible from the beginning, and the main impetus for the project was an effort to provide "quality education."

However, despite great initial optimism for this education park, strong resistance from parts of the white community developed and caused its postponement and reduction to merely a middle school park in grade levels five through eight. In addition to the integration issue, problems were also caused by "erroneous information" that the total cost of the project would be borne by the city without outside help. In late 1968, two years after the initial proposals were made, the school district had not yet sought to raise the funding for the middle school education park, which places the availability of the park a number of years in the future, at best.

In Berkeley, the purpose of the education park proposal was also not integration, but in the case of Berkeley, this was due to the fact that racial integration had already been achieved. Some small financial savings were forecast in Berkeley for an education park, but a belief in the educational advantages of a park appear to be the principal reason for the proposal. It is ironic that Berkeley, which in a sense needs an education park the least of all the school systems studied, is in all likelihood the one most likely to have an education park in the future.

In summary, it appears that the realities of implementing an education park concept in a major city in the late 1960s and early 1970s greatly alter the image found in the proposals. The image promises integration, but mostly at the school level rather than at the classroom level. Even there, it does not give near a 50-50 racial balance in most cities, since the overall distribution of public school children is not 50-50. The quality education proposals are certainly not among the most imaginative described in the section on professional programs. Moreover, given the approach of architecture first and program second, the education park program would probably be even less imaginative in its implemented form.

## Mini-Schools

### An Image

The term "mini-school" is used here to refer to a variety of small, decentralized educational units that meet in informal surroundings--a church, storefront, or a neighborhood center. A small group of children perhaps 15, 20, or 30, meets with a teacher and several aides (composed of parents, older students, or high-school dropouts) and engages in a variety of activities, inside the meeting place and outside in the neighborhood and the city. According to the consensus of a number of participants in these educational experiments, physical structures and facilities are unimportant; in fact, formal, unfamiliar classrooms impede learning. The important things, they feel, are the interactions between children and adults and the active participation of the children in their own education.

Founders of mini-schools speak less of "quality education" than of "relevant education." The latter is defined specifically and locally. It may mean teaching English and reading to young children in East Harlem Block Schools;* teaching black youngsters in San Francisco to value and appreciate their blackness; or preparing dropouts for college in Urban League Street Academies.† In general, these programs emphasize close pupil-teacher relationships; flexible and experimental approaches to learning; and considerable parental involvement in school activities. Some are even trying to move beyond the walls of classrooms and meeting places to let the children explore their entire environment.

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* Peter Schrag, "Learning in a Storefront," Saturday Review, June 15, 1968, p. 71.

† Joseph Featherstone,"Storefront Schools in Harlem," New Republic, September 7, 1968, p. 21-27.

To the extent that additional physical facilities and specialists are needed, they are to be provided on a decentralized basis, a mobile, traveling basis, or even by means of a central resource center such as that established in Mount Vernon, N.Y.* Computer technology and educational TV also lend themselves to decentralization, and will be even more adaptable in the future. However, facilities, specialists, and new technology would serve the new child-school relationships, not determine them.

- In essence, the mini-school "belongs" to the children and parents, and is responsive to their needs, which in turn is considered a significant part of their learning experience.

Almost by definition, there is no uniform blueprint for mini-schools. Some representative examples might include:

- The East Harlem Block Schools in New York City, which meet in storefronts with one professional teacher and one aide for every 12 or 15 children, and now serve 135 children.
- The First Street School on the Lower East Side in Manhattan, which operated for two years with a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:7 and a student body one-third white, one-third black and one-third Puerto Rican.
- The black freedom schools, staffed by civil rights workers, which grew out of political activities in the South, and out of school boycotts in the North.
- The Martin Luther King School in San Francisco, where a black teacher is successfully teaching black, former "problem" sixth and seventh graders.
- The Shire school, also in San Francisco, where a group of parents, primarily white, felt the need for more human and less regimented schools.

Schools of this type are emerging from Head Start, and other experimental programs, and are being created in black ghettoes, Spanish barrios, and white suburbs. In Boston the Ford Foundation is backing a

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† Francis Keppel, "Educational Technology and the Education Park," Education Parks, U.S. Commission on Civil Right, Clearinghouse Publication No. 9, p. 29.

network of private schools which will enable children to attend a variety of small schools in different neighborhoods. This network provides local control, intimate surroundings, and racially integrated, environmentally diffuse learning experiences.

The educational philosophy implicit in the mini-schools is a descendant of the "pedagogic creed" expressed by John Dewey in 1897:*

> I believe that education...is a process of living and not a preparation for future living.
>
> I believe that the school must represent present life--life as real and vital to the child as that which he carries on in the home, in the neighborhood, or on the playground.
>
> I believe that education which does not occur through forms of life, or that are worth living for their own sake, is always a poor substitute for the genuine reality and tends to cramp and to deaden.
>
> I believe that the school, as an institution, should simplify existing social life; should reduce it, as it were, to an embryonic form...
>
> I believe that as such simplified social life, the school life should grow gradually out of the home life...
>
> I believe that much of present education fails because it neglects this fundamental principle of the school as a form of community life. It conceives the school as a place where certain information is to be given, where certain lessons are to be learned, or where certain habits are to be formed. The value of these is conceived as lying largely in the remote future: the child must do these things for the sake of something else he is to do; they are mere preparation. As a result they do not become a part of the life experience of the child and so are not truly educative...
>
> I believe that under existing conditions far too much of the stimulus and control proceeds from the teacher, because of neglect of the idea of the school as a form of social life...
>
> I believe, therefore, that the true center of correlation on the school subjects is the child's own social activities...

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* Dewey, on Education: Selections, Introduction and Notes by Martin S. Dworkin, Teacher College Press, New York, N.Y. 1959.

> I believe...that the primary basis of education is in the child's powers at work along the same general constructive lines as those which have brought civilization into being.
>
> I believe that the only way to make the child conscious of his social heritage is to enable him to perform those fundamental types of activity which make civilization what it is.
>
> I believe, therefore, in the so-called expressive or constructive activities as the center of correlation...
>
> I believe, finally, that education must be conceived as a continuing reconstruction of experience; that the process and the goal of education are one and the same thing.
>
> I believe that to set up any end outside of education, as furnishing its goal and standard, is to deprive the educational process of much of its meaning and tends to make us rely upon false and external stimuli in dealing with the child.

Paul Goodman, an architect of the mini-school concept, probably is the most vocal current exponent of these and similar ideas on a national scale.* In order for education to be relevant to the personal and social needs of the individual, Goodman believes that the structural features of the mini-school--its small size, informal setting, administrative freedom and intimate involvement with the community--are essential attributes.

Basically, it is believed that learning cannot be standardized and administered to a group of children, but that each child has to be an active participant in the process of satisfying his own curiosity and learning subjects which are important to him. The "tiny" school and the low ratio of children to adults would enable each child to receive the type of individual attention he needs; would provide flexibility in terms of what is to be learned when; and would permit the children to take responsibility for their own education. By eliminating most of the administrative functions of the present schools, all the money and personal attention could be devoted to the pupils. Teachers and aides would be able to involve themselves in the lives of the students and the activities of the community.

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* Goodman, Paul People or Personnel; and Like a Conquered Province Vintage Books, New York 1963, 1965.

Mini-schools can meet in any available location in the community--a church, storefront, community center, settlement house. It is necessary only that the children feel comfortable in the surroundings; have room to work and play and move around; and are able to come and go easily.

In Goodman's model, they would spend only part of their time in this location, engaging in a variety of outside activities, and taking advantage of the resources of the city--its homes, streets, neighborhoods, and transportation, shops, business firms, factories, parks, museums, historical monuments, etc. All the child's experiences would be learning experiences, and most of them could be integrated into the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic.

Goodman proposes the mini-school for children aged six to twelve; for older students, he envisions a more sophisticated application of the same principles. John Bremer's Parkway Project in Philadelphia embodies many of the concepts of the mini-school at the senior high level although the project is not specifically a mini-school. More than anything else, adolescents need to explore many areas of life and have many opportunities to try new things and change their minds. When they settle upon an interesting task or career, they should be enabled to pursue it with a maximum of freedom to learn by doing, i.e., by practical experience. This might entail an apprenticeship to a skilled craftsman or an independent radio station; work in professions such as teaching, social work, or politics, where classwork is less valuable than experience; travel to learn about foreign languages and cultures; individual study and research; and so forth. For the academically inclined, there ought to be small, specialized academies to guide their studies toward college. Finally, Goodman believes that rigorous, formal education is most appreciated by older persons with more experience, and these often have difficulty in obtaining it. Hence, there is a need for accessible adult education at all levels.

Mini-schools cannot be considered in isolation from their respective communities. The schools may be run by a combination of parents, teachers, and other community people. Their staffs may consist of parents and students, in addition to regular certified teachers. Several mini-schools have made a point of involving high school students and dropouts in working with the younger children, finding that they took considerable interest in this, and that their own reading skills improved as a result of tutoring. Some proposals suggest that parents be involved in the learning process as well, perhaps learning to read or to teach; and that teachers and parents be active participants in other community affairs.

The physical intimacy between schools and neighborhoods permits children to learn in a familiar, secure environment, instead of the often frightening world of a strange area, school, and formal classrooms. Parents, too, are less intimidated and probably more willing to take part in school activities. For families who are members of any sort of minority group--racial, religious, cultural, etc.--it is very important to feel that the child's education is supportive of rather than alienating and hostile to the mores of the adults.

The mini-school preserves pluralism, and resists the uniformity of the "melting pot" mandate imposed by the institutions of the dominant white middleclass Americans. The result is greater growth in the students and a better understanding of their unique personal and subcultural characteristics and the society into which they must fit as responsible citizens and productive economic units.

## Implementation of Mini-Schools

The concept of the mini-school as put forth by Goodman and Dewey pictures a school in close relationship to the community which it serves. The community itself is a focus of the educational experience, and as the needs and characteristics of the community change, so will the education. This school-community relationship is seen as giving initial relevance to the school, and thereafter continually renewing its relevance. The focus of the mini-school is on a continuing relationship between school and community, with little attention paid to the specific structure, as can be seen in the wide variety of mini-schools found in many of our major cities. It appears, however, that the critical features of present mini-schools are their initiation and implementation.

Between the existing public schools in our major cities and the communities within those cities, both minority and majority, considerable alienation exists. Typically, this alienation is sensed by individuals who are in some way involved in community affairs. Depending upon the predominant characteristics of the alienation that is sensed, these individuals are trying to create a school, or quasi-school, situation in which this alienation can be overcome and the students can "learn." A good example of this endeavor is the street front academies in New York City which work with alienation embodied in the New York high school dropouts--or high school force-outs--an attempt to show them what is education and how it can relate to them. It is a very conservative approach in the sense that its objectives are the development of a person who can work within the present context of society, and more particularly, who can possibly be placed and succeed in a typical college context.

In other situations, teachers and parents have sensed innate racism in some public schools, especially against black minority children, and have developed their own freedom schools. In these schools--though they vary greatly from location to location--the emphasis is generally upon teaching the children to appreciate and value their blackness. From this position of new self-respect and confidence, and by the use of teachers who "really try and don't always put the student down," the school attempts the more typical academic task of reading, writing, and arithmetic. In relationship to the present system, these schools tend to be radical and seek to create major changes, as a minimum, through example and comparison to the public schools.

Other schools, such as the First Street school on the lower East side of Manhattan, developed their new school context around an integrated student body with one-third white, one-third black, and one-third Puerto Rican. Given the particular focus of the school, the curriculum developed within the focus is nearly always more open and flexible and less regimented than that found in the public school system. This is due largely to the educational philosophy of the school founders who have typically been frustrated in trying to meet the educational needs of the students as they saw them within the public school system, but the curriculum also reflects the fact that these schools in their process of implementation must work out new accommodations to circumstances as they arise.

In the instances when these concepts are implemented within the public school system--for example, the Park Way project in Philadelphia--this situation can often be seen as extremely threatening. More often than not, when a city school system creates an open and flexible educational form, it is not with its "regular students" but rather in small pilot projects for high school dropouts or potential dropouts, or delinquent child education, or gifted children or some other small groups peripheral to the main body of the students.

In a few of these mini-schools, the community is participating in the way in which one would expect a middle class community to participate at a cooperative nursery school or a cooperative private school. However, within minority areas, the citizenry is so disorganized that a community hardly exists. Therefore, the driving force of most of their innovations is not the community but rather the individual with the ideas and the energy to create the new educational system, and to draw members of the community to him. The fact that these schools are usually small in terms of student body and physical resources is much less due to desire of the originator to continue intimate contact with the community than due to the limited resources that can be mobilized from the community, plus perhaps some foundations or special grants from the public school system.

It is the energy of these individuals, who often "bootstrap" these schools into existence, rather than the strength of a bureaucratic setup, which gives these mini-schools their impetus. At present, it is difficult to see how many of these institutions will be able to survive the problems that will arise when they lose their highly energetic original set of leaders. Some of these mini-schools, such as the New York Street Academies, are sponsored by institutions--in this case the Urban League. This form of institutional commitment may prolong the life of these organizations and give them a continuity in continuing existence, but this remains to be seen.

However, the crucial point is that neither contact with the community nor smallness of the school is the chief factor in producing the mini-school. Most of the existing mini-schools would welcome an increase in size and financial resources.

For a public school to adopt the use of mini-schools would require careful planning. It is extremely naive and oversimplifying to expect that once a mini-school was set up, the community would be able to take teachers unoriented to the community and put them in touch with the minority community. The teachers must bring with them an awareness and openness to the needs and concerns of the geographic area which can some day become a community. The minority pseudo-communities are as yet much too weak to perform the teaching and education function that most of the current teachers in our public school systems would require. Considerable institutional preparation and help would seem to be mandatory.

Given properly trained teachers who know how to be involved with and work with a community, the breaking down of school community barriers and the establishment of relevance to the community would seem to be most advantageous. Whether it is possible within a formal bureaucracy, such as the public school system, to stimulate innovative change from within, or whether the change must arise spontaneously from community or other non-bureaucratic sources, is an open question. This same problem arises in the consideration of a professional program. The mini-school is a type of professional program but a highly threatening one to the self image of most professionals. It is unlikely that the mini-school will ever win more than minor acceptance in an urban school system. Mini-schools will continue to exist in urban areas and are even likely to become more important, but as an alternative to, rather than part of, the public school system.

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## Conclusions

For different reasons, neither of the two facility innovations--education parks and mini-schools--offer much promise to urban education. One probably should not be implemented, and the other probably will not be implemented. Neighborhood schools will most likely remain the choice of most school districts.

It is probably unfair to label new neighborhood schools--some of which have very innovative facilities--the status quo. However, they are unlikely to disturb the status quo unless they are synergistically combined with other innovative driving forces.

Currently, community control is the driving force that is receiving the most attention. Despite some skepticism on our part as to the ability of most minority communities to transform community control into relevant, high-quality education for their children, community control would be our choice among the potential driving forces for change to combine with new construction.

Our selection is not important. What is important is a realization that such driving forces are critically needed. There must be a concerted effort on the part of each city to develop such forces within its particular set of circumstances. Perceptive teachers open to the anguish of minority students could provide this force; so could a truly integrated school; so might a community-controlled school. The paths to relevance and effectiveness are many but self-protecting, half-hearted attempts at change by whites or browns or blacks, their leaders or their organizations, are not one of the paths.

The problem is a dropout problem where the dropouts are not limited to students. Parents, teachers, administrators--in fact, all who are concerned with education are dropouts if they perceive some segments of the changes needed in education and do not fight for them.

This study has set forth the difficulty of instituting significant educational change, especially where even the change agents or driving forces pursue an "education as usual" mode of operation. Exceptional efforts do exist, but they are isolated and poorly accepted by urban education in general. Nevertheless, the conclusion is not that change is unlikely. There will be considerable educational change over the next decade, though it may be cloaked in violence. Parents, teachers, administrators, and the community at large may be able to tolerate the current state of urban education, but increasingly, minority communities and particularly the students themselves will not tolerate the current situation quietly. Therefore, the question is not whether there will be "innovation"--there will--but rather whether all the segments of society will positively participate and use the changes to regenerate the society rather than tear it apart. It is hoped that this paper has provided a perspective for participation in terms of the issues related to urban school construction.